

IN THE MATTER OF
REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH
EXHIBITS TO REPORT
OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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EXHIBIT 1

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1990 has been a trying year for the nation and the party. In the face of a difficult election, we hold true to our programs, our ideas and our ideals.

The Mission is still sound . . .

"GOPAC's mission for the 1990's is to create and disseminate the doctrine which defines a caring, humanitarian reform Republican Party in such a way as to elect candidates, capture the United States House of Representatives and become a governing majority at every level of Government."

Exhibit 1

GOPAC

An Overview

Exhibit 1

OVERVIEW

We can only characterize the 1990 election as an opportunity lost. Opportunity lost for GOPAC, for the Republican Party, for the country.

What should have been the "breakthrough" election turned, in the last month or two, into a state by state, campaign by campaign, no trend, no message election.

GOPAC election results mirrored the nationwide results. Where Republican gubernatorial candidates were weak, our legislative candidates lost by razor-thin margins.

The great news is that at least 9 members of the GOPAC farm team are brand new members of Congress. These are candidates who have been part of the GOPAC family. They have received training, tapes and/or cash, some beginning as far back as 1982.

Election year 1990 continued the farm team building process. We supported 91 candidates in 19 states and trained 2835 activists in 32 states.

Even though the election results were not all that we had expected, 1990 was an exciting and productive year for GOPAC. Our Charter Member report contains a brief section on each of the GOPAC 1990 projects.

The political report lists all of the candidates we supported, reports on the states where we were active, and gives results and contribution amounts. We think our Charter Members can be very proud of what we did.

The training and tape program continues to be our most effective and cost-efficient method of spreading the unique GOPAC message. We sent out 36,000 audio tapes to legislators, candidates and activists in 1990. Everywhere we travel, the tapes are praised and appreciated (and copied).

The GOPAC focus group project, one of the largest ever undertaken in the Republican Party, identified language and ideas that would motivate young people to become active in the political process and encourage them to vote Republican.

And for a real learning experience, GOPAC got into the television production business. Our May 19th American Opportunities Workshop was, we believe, the largest satellite network ever put together. The success of that broadcast led to the American Citizens' Television series, as you will see in that report.

Our shirtsleeves sessions continue to grow and inspire. If you have not rolled up your sleeves and participated, you are missing a special experience.

Exhibit 1

The last section in this report will give you a brief look at preliminary plans for GOPAC 1992. We believe that the unique capabilities of our General Chairman Congressman Newt Gingrich means that GOPAC will take the lead in planning for 1992.

The unparalleled opportunity in 1992 because of redistricting, and because of retirements means that there will be some 170 districts where no incumbent is running or where an incumbent is running in a very different district from the one when he was elected.

Because the opportunity is so great, the planning has already begun, and GOPAC Charter Members and Congressman Newt Gingrich are the motivating force behind the planning.

1990 has been an exciting, productive year for GOPAC. We could not have done any of it without the ideas, the inspiration and the support of our Charter Members. We can't wait to see what 1991-92 will bring.

And yes, we will control the U.S. House. We'll do it in the next election or the one after that. We're serious about it.

Kay Riddle
Executive Director

Exhibit 1

EXHIBIT 2

Attachment #5

Draft (11/1/89)

GOPAC IN THE 1990s

Introduction

During the 1980s, GOPAC has continued its original mission, laid out under the leadership of Pete du Pont, of developing a "farm team" of state legislators and other state and local officeholders from which the next generation of Republican congressmen will emerge. Through contributions to state legislative candidates, GOPAC has helped literally hundreds of candidates to achieve a foothold on the political ladder.

Since 1986, under the leadership of Newt Gingrich, GOPAC has grown into a nationally-recognized center of training and doctrine for grassroots Republican activists and candidates. Through its training seminars, its widely-distributed video and audio tapes and its project to develop and communicate "An Agenda Worth Voting For," GOPAC has taken the lead in communicating the next generation of conservative ideas and in creating a caring, humanitarian, reform Republican party.

Thanks in part to GOPAC's past efforts, the Republican party has an opportunity during the 1990s to become a governing majority in America, at every level of government. The center-right coalition that has carried every Presidential election since 1968 is ready, finally, to seize control of the rest of government at well, from the Congress to the school boards.

Based on its history and experience, its capabilities and strengths as an organization and its assessment of the vast opportunity available to the Republican party, GOPAC has developed the following Mission Statement for the 1990s:

GOPAC's mission for the 1990s is to create and disseminate the doctrine which defines a caring, humanitarian, reform Republican party in such a way as to elect candidates, capture the U.S. House of Representatives and become a governing majority at every level of government.

Exhibit 2

This mission statement, it should be noted, is consistent with the entire range of current GOPAC activities, from training to giving funds to individual state and local candidates. But it goes much further. The Mission Statement for the 1990s provides the basis and the motivation for a GOPAC that can serve as the catalyst for political realignment at the grass-roots level.

"Creation" and "Dissemination": The Operational Principles

GOPAC's new Mission Statement translates immediately and directly into operational principles for GOPAC activities. Its role is to both create and disseminate the doctrine of a majority Republican party.

The creation of new doctrine is essentially a research function, involving the development of new ideas at the strategic, operational and tactical level. Strategic doctrine, in this context, consists of the language, policies and programs that will define the caring, humanitarian, reform Republican agenda of the 1990s. Operational doctrine consists of the political message and image which will attract voters and elect state and local candidates in support of this new agenda. And, tactical doctrine consists of the specific political techniques Republicans will use to win elections and enact governing conservative policies.

Under the leadership of General Chairman Newt Gingrich, GOPAC has played a central role in developing the Republican doctrine of the 1990s. From developing the Conservative Opportunity Society, to creating the GOPAC tapes ("We Are A Majority," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," and "Visions, Strategies, Projects, Tactics"), to teaching the party how to "define the left," Gingrich has led the way towards defining a new Republican doctrine.

The challenge for the party, and for GOPAC in particular, is to flesh out these ideas into a full-fledged, intellectually complete doctrine -- one that offers specific policies and programs, comprehensive tactical guidance for the party, and usable operational guidance for specific state and local campaigns.

Exhibit 2

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GOPAC's new Mission Statement calls for it to take up this challenge by undertaking the research activities needed to create a complete Republican doctrine for the 1990s.

As important as the creation of new doctrine is its dissemination. During the 1980s GOPAC and Newt Gingrich have led the way in applying new technology, from C-SPAN to video tapes, to disseminate information to Republican candidates and political activists. And, GOPAC has successfully used the "old technology," (e.g. sponsoring meetings and seminars, mailing materials to farm team members, direct mail, etc.) to get its message out.

But the Mission Statement demands that we do much more. To create the level of change needed to become a majority, the new Republican doctrine must be communicated to a broader audience, with greater frequency, in a more usable form. GOPAC needs a bigger "microphone."

Fortunately, the information revolution provides the needed tools. The successful dissemination techniques of the 1990s will involve increased use of teleconferences, television "narrow-casting", "900" numbers, computer bulletin boards, broadscale faxing and other technologies not yet explored -- or even invented. If GOPAC is to be successful in disseminating the new doctrine as widely and frequently as required, it must remain on the cutting edge of the information revolution.

Advanced technology will be a supplement, not a replacement, for the successful communications techniques GOPAC has developed during the 1980s. Continuing the training seminars, creating a new set of video tapes, increasing the frequency and quality of the audio tape program and sponsoring additional meetings and seminars will remain essential to disseminating the message. Giving funds to state and local candidates can also play an important role. By increasing the probability of electing aggressive, eloquent spokesmen for the new Republican party, GOPAC can help to create effective advocates for the changes that must be made. And, by choosing its candidates effectively, GOPAC can send a message to the party and to the world about the Republican party's commitment to attract new voters among minorities, in inner cities, in the South and elsewhere.

Exhibit 2

GOPAC Projects

In August 1989, GOPAC received commitments for funding of six specific projects designed to create and disseminate the new Republican doctrine of the 1990s:

1. **Overall Planning:** Oversee the development of the strategic, operational and tactical doctrine of the new Republican party and disseminate it to Republican candidates and activists.

2. **No-Tax-Increase Coalition:** Energize the no-tax-increase movement at the grassroots level as well as in Washington.

3. **National COS Movement:** Create the communications network for a national Conservative Opportunity Society movement, working with existing state COS groups.

4. **Create an Inner City COS Agenda:** Develop and disseminate the strategic-level doctrine for COS-based progress in urban areas.

5. **Create a Rural COS Agenda:** Develop and disseminate the strategic-level doctrine for COS-based progress in rural areas.

6. **Education Choice Coalition:** Energize the education choice movement at the grassroots level as well as in Washington.

Each of these projects involves both the creation and dissemination of new doctrine, with some weighted more heavily towards creating new doctrine and some more towards doctrine dissemination. (The National COS Movement, for example, is essentially a communications/dissemination project; the Inner City and Rural COS projects are more heavily weighted towards research/ doctrine creation.) Each is an integral part of GOPAC's mission for the 1990s.

To carry out these projects, GOPAC will expand and reorient two its existing divisions.

Exhibit 2

GOPAC will reorganize and expand its research, development and planning division, which will undertake the research-intensive Overall Planning, Inner City COS and Rural COS projects. The research division will not involve on-staff GOPAC employees, but will rely on consultants working under the direction of a Research Projects Director (Jeff Eisenach), who will be hired on a contract basis. Newt Gingrich will be extensively involved in the design and direction of these activities.

GOPAC will also expand and reorient its communications division. A full-time GOPAC staff person will be hired, working in the Washington office, to coordinate the dissemination of doctrine from the three research-intensive projects, manage the three communications-intensive projects (No-Tax-Increase Coalition; National COS Movement; Education Choice Coalition) and, most importantly, aggressively develop new technology for political communications. Some or all of these activities may also involve the use of outside consultants or part-time staff. Bo Callaway will be extensively involved in designing and directing this expanded communications program.

Ongoing GOPAC Activities

GOPAC's current activities will continue under the remaining three GOPAC divisions: Political, Finance and Administrative.

The political division will continue and expand the existing training seminar program, and oversee the direction of funds to state and local candidates, under the direction of Political Director Tom Morgan. The training program will be expanded in two ways: First, an additional staff person will be added to the program (possibly from existing GOPAC staff - Mark Colluci?) to enable it to provide training to local candidates and Republican activists, as well as to state legislators. Second, the Political Director will work directly with the communications division to develop ways of distributing the GOPAC training program via television, teleconferences, etc.

With respect to funding candidates, the political division will direct its efforts specifically to identifying state and local candidates that meet the two

Exhibit 2

criteria discussed above -- effective spokesmen for the new doctrine, and candidates representing new GOP voter groups.

The finance division will continue to oversee the Charter Member program, the National Leadership Council (\$1,000 donors) and the direct mail program. The direct mail program will be substantially reoriented, in keeping with the new mission, to aggressively market new doctrine through GOPAC "products" (e.g. the audio and video tapes).

In addition, the finance division will aggressively market existing and prospective research and communications projects to Charter Members, with the objective of identifying funders to maintain the current set of activities and undertake additional ones. Through high-dollar donations, GOPAC will aim to double its annual funding base each year through 1992.

The administrative division will continue to manage GOPAC's financial and legal affairs under the highest possible financial, legal and ethical standards.

Exhibit 2

GOPAC

REPORT TO SHAREHOLDERS

April 26, 1993

GOPAC's mission, building the grass-roots base from which Republicans will capture the U.S. House and win majorities at every level of government, has never been more important than in 1993 -- and the opportunities for success have never been greater. While we have lost control of the White House, Republicans currently:

- o Hold 33 more House seats than in the first year of the Carter Presidency;
- o Hold nearly 100 more state legislative seats than in 1980 -- and 600 more seats than in 1977;
- o Have majorities in 33 (of 94) state legislative chambers -- the most since 1980;
- o Have the tremendous advantage of running against a Democratic administration which is radically to the left of the majority of Americans.

In terms of GOPAC's most fundamental goal -- winning Republican control of the U.S. House, one startling fact is worth bearing in mind: If Republicans gain as many seats in 1994 and 1996 as we did in 1978 and 1980, we will hold an eight seat majority in the U.S. House.

The challenge facing Republicans, however, is an awesome one: We must build a governing majority, founded on basic principles, that is prepared to do what we failed to do during the last 12 years: Replace the Welfare State with an Opportunity Society and demonstrate that our ideas are the key to progress, freedom and the Renewal of American Civilization.

EXHIBIT 3

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1993 GOPAC Charter Member Events

January 13	Get Acquainted Breakfast The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	May 7	Reception and Dinner National Center for Policy Analysis Dallas, Texas
January 22-23	The State of the Union Under President Clinton The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	May 25	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
March 16	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.	June 8	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
March 21-22	GOPAC Events New York, New York	June 22	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
April 20	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.	November 13-15	Fall Charter Meeting Location to be determined
April 24-26	Spring Charter Meeting The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	January 1994	California Regional Charter Meeting

Exhibit 3

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1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAMS

**Status Report
April 26, 1993**

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Exhibit 3

MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

- o While both "message" and "mechanism" are important, GOPAC's comparative advantage lies in developing new ideas -- i.e. in the "message" part of the equation. GOPAC will thus continue to focus its efforts on developing and communicating our values in a way voters can understand and support.
- o GOPAC will remain an "independent" organization, without formal ties to the RNC or other Republican committees, so as to be able to continue to serve effectively as the "Bell Labs" of the Republican Party -- i.e. GOPAC will continue to have the freedom to take risks and try new ideas.
- o GOPAC has emerged as the premier training organization in the Republican Party by virtue of a very strong program, and continues to have a comparative advantage in offering political training programs focussed on ideas, messages and strategies. Thus, GOPAC should remain active in political training and take the necessary steps to ensure the "product" continues to be of the highest possible quality.
- o GOPAC will continue to rely primarily on the Charter Program for its funding, and will operate on a total budget of roughly \$2.5 million for calendar 1993.
- o GOPAC's role in Congressional elections in 1992 was important in the winning campaigns of at least two dozen, and perhaps as many as 40, of the 47 members of the 1992 freshman class. Thus, GOPAC should remain involved in helping to recruit, train and support Republican challenger campaigns.
- o While the "Gavel Club" raised substantial funds for House challengers, the program was in many ways poorly structured and should either be eliminated or significantly restructured.
- o GOPAC will continue to give cash to candidates at the state and local level, but cash to candidates is not GOPAC's main mission. Our experience in the 1991-1992 cycle provided still more evidence that GOPAC's "teach them to fish" model is the most effective means of providing value to candidates. Thus, we will continue to focus on training, networking and providing in-kind contributions, with cash contributions serving in part to leverage the effectiveness of our other activities.

Exhibit 3

MAJOR PROJECTS OVERVIEW

Project Line

Status

Curriculum Update and Expansion -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).

Taping of new training tapes scheduled for June 5 training session at Virginia Republican Convention; post production complete and materials ready for use by July 1.

"Tory (Franchise) Model" R&D -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.

Planning session held on April 24 to discuss feasibility of various approaches and recruit possible "franchisees" for 1993-1994 test program.

Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia) -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.

Newt speaking at and teaching training seminar for candidates at Virginia Republican Convention; discussions underway with New Jersey party to schedule training; "scouting" underway to identify target races in both states.

Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization" -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.

April Charter Meeting breakout sessions designed to present and improve core elements of the message; focus groups to be scheduled in Summer/early Fall 1993.

Ongoing Political Activities -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.

First 1993 tape to drop in June with training modules on Renewing American Civilization and health care. Teleconference "train the parties" program underway.

Exhibit 3

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSIONBackground

Since GOPAC first launched its on-site training program in 1987, we have trained well over 10,000 candidates in nearly every state in the union. The GOPAC curriculum continues to receive rave reviews, and very few weeks go by when we do not receive a request for us to provide an on-site seminar. This high demand for our product is strong evidence that it continues to be very useful to Republican candidates.

The on-site seminar curriculum currently consists of two core modules: The "Core Doctrine" module ("Vision, Strategies, Projects, Tactics," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," "Wedges, Magnets, Shields, Turf," etc.) and the "Flying Upside Down" module (based on Joe Gaylord's landmark book, now in its second edition). Both elements exist in video tape, audio tape and written outline formats, with the video tape and written outline formats directly supporting the seminars.

1993 Objectives

1. Update and Expand Core Doctrine Module: The current edition of the "Core Doctrine" module was produced in May 1992 and is dated by the election. At a minimum, the underlying principles need to be applied to the current political situation, the video needs to be re-shot and the written outline needs to be re-written to correspond to the new presentation. An audio tape will also be produced based on the new video tape, both for mailing to the farm team and to be given to participants in on-site seminars as post-training reinforcement. We should also produce a written "doctrine manual" similar to the book version of Flying Upside Down. This project is on track to be completed by early Summer.

2. Re-introduce the "We Are a Majority" Module: The "We Are a Majority" Module, which explained the core differences between us and the Left and the reasons why our side is in the majority in each area, was one of the major elements of our program through 1989, at which point elements of this module became dated (e.g. our differences with the Left in our understanding of the Soviet Union). By updating and re-introducing this module, we will fill a burning need within the Republican Party to be reminded of the principles which unite us against the agenda of the Left. This project is on track to be completed by mid-late Summer.

3. Build and Test a "Quality" Module: Thanks to Newt's relationship with Dr. W. Edwards Deming and to the efforts of several GOPAC Charter Members to expose GOPAC staff to core principles of Quality, we believe we now have the understanding to take a first cut at teaching Quality to Republican organizations and campaigns. This will be an inherently experimental effort, but the potential payoff is tremendous. Initial work on this project is underway, and the objective is to have a test product by late Summer or early Fall.

Exhibit 3

Eileenach
2541

"TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&D

Background

The notion of building a permanent presence in a set of "marginal" Congressional districts has been around for many years, most recently in discussions of creating "Franchise" districts" and/or adapting the British Tory Party's model of permanent campaigns. There are three major reasons to believe this is a good time to move the concept from the "idea" to the "test" phase: (1) GOPAC's work with House challengers in 1992 resulted in development of very strong relationships with Republican leaders in dozens of Congressional districts; (2) During 1992, we undertook a fairly intensive study of the British Tory Party's experience with a similar model, and we have established a good working relationships with senior Tory Party officials who are willing to work with us to apply what they know to the American environment; and (3) Congressional districts are now "set" through 2000 -- i.e. we now have eight years, and four elections, to work on targeted districts without worrying that district lines will be withdrawn.

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. First cut target list is complete.

2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). Next steps here depend on the outcome of the April 24 planning session.

3. Identify 1994 Test Districts: We have had exploratory conversations with a dozen or more Republican leaders around the country, including several Charter Members, who are prepared to devote time and energy to establishing permanent campaigns in Congressional districts where they live. From among these franchise candidates, and others we may identify over the next few months, we need to select 6-12 Test Districts in which to test the franchise model doctrine. This selection -- including the development of explicit franchise agreements with district leaders -- should be complete by November 1993.

Exhibit 3

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACESBackground

Two states, New Jersey and Virginia, will be holding state-wide elections for state legislature this year. Beginning in 1989, GOPAC has played significant roles in both states, providing training, focus group and other research, strategic advice, in-kind contributions (e.g. camera-ready ads) and cash contributions. Our theory has been, and remains, that these off-year states provide a unique opportunity to "market test" our "on-year" political programs before rolling them out nationwide. However, we have also been active for the much simpler reason of helping to elect Republicans -- and on this score, our efforts have been very successful. Legislative leaders in both states give GOPAC significant credit for the major gains they made in 1991, and they are enthusiastic about having GOPAC's help again. It is important to remember that gubernatorial races with national implications (Florio in New Jersey and the Wilder vacancy in Virginia) are on the ballots in both states.

1993 Objectives

1. Recruiting and Training State Legislative Candidates: We have contacted state legislative leaders and offered to assist with candidate recruiting in both New Jersey and Virginia, and we expect that Newt will be asked to assist personally in persuading some of the stronger potential candidates to run. In addition, we are currently working to schedule major training seminars in both New Jersey and Virginia for June/July 1993, and will use these seminars to "roll out" the new GOPAC training curriculum now under development. In addition, we are developing a teleconference training curriculum for both states which we expect to roll out in late Summer. (Recall that we first tested the teleconference training program, which was so successful in 1992, with state legislative candidates in New Jersey and Virginia in 1991.) On track, with Newt Gingrich training seminar scheduled for June 5 at the Virginia Republican Convention.

2. Research and Strategic Consultation: As in 1991, we will work directly with the Republican leaders in New Jersey and Virginia to determine how GOPAC can best meet their needs for research and strategic consultation at both the candidate-specific and the state-wide party level. Discussions with state leaders are already underway; specific projects will be developed over the course of the next several months.

3. In-Kind and Cash Contributions: GOPAC's most effective program in 1991 was the "Wilder Index" ad campaign we developed for Virginia state legislative candidates. In September, we mailed camera-ready art, tailored specifically to each campaign, to every Republican challenger. The ads demonstrated that the Democratic incumbent they were running against had voted with Governor Wilder (the most unpopular political figure in the state at that point) on a large proportion of key votes. As we survey the situation in New Jersey and Virginia this year, we will be looking for similar opportunities. Of course, we will also be evaluating state legislative candidates for possible cash contributions, and tentatively expect to contribute about \$25,000 in each of the two states.

Exhibit 3

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2543

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Background

In the Spring of 1990, GOPAC undertook a series of 18 focus groups designed to better understand the attitudes of young, middle-class Americans. It was the largest and most sophisticated focus group project undertaken by the Republican Party for more than a decade. More importantly, it allowed us to understand both the level of and the causes of fear, resentment and frustration among middle-class Americans (i.e. to anticipate the strength of the anti-incumbency movement, the term limits movement and the Perot candidacy, among other things), to develop appropriate political messages and strategies, and, through our training programs, to improve the campaigns of literally thousands of Republican candidates. Given the dramatic change in the political landscape since 1990, it seems appropriate that we should consider undertaking a research project designed to help us better understand how our values, principles and policies can best be communicated to voters, including specifically testing the "Renewing American Civilization" message Newt is in the process of developing.

1993 Objectives

1. Develop Research Agenda: The first step in this project is to state clearly what we hope to learn -- about values, principles, issues, policies, etc. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" speech and associated materials have been forwarded to the focus group design team we have worked with in the past (Market Strategies, Inc.), and we look forward to having an initial research agenda back from them by mid-Spring. Initial conversations with Market Strategies completed; research agenda to be completed by mid-June (slightly behind schedule).
2. Develop Test Protocol: Once we have talked through the research agenda, we will begin working with Market Strategies to design a specific research protocol, which will include details on the number of focus groups to be conducted, sites, participant profiles and a discussion outline. This step should be complete by late Spring or early Summer. Still on track.
3. Collect Data/Report/Follow-Up: Our objective is to be "in the field" sometime this Summer (probably over the course of several weeks), and to have written results back in by September 15. The primary means of dissemination (e.g. incorporation into training program, sending reports to Republican leaders, press briefings, etc.) will be decided over the course of the next several months. On track.

Exhibit 3

ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Background

A significant part of GOPAC's political program involves either (a) ongoing "routine" activities and (b) taking advantage of targets of opportunity. These include: conducting on-site training seminars for activists, potential candidates and incumbents; producing and mailing audio training tapes; serving as a networking point for Republicans to share new ideas; and, participating in special elections (both state and local and Congressional).

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. On-Site Training Seminars: We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on-site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past. First GOPAC training session of 1993 will be conducted at the Southern Republican Exchange meeting in Louisville on May 8; additional seminars now being scheduled.

2. Audio Training Tapes: We have planned and budgeted for six audio training tapes to be mailed during 1993, including two or three tapes including our updated training curriculum. At present, we are working on updating the mailing list to reflect results of 1992 state and local races and are preparing to mail a customer satisfaction/needs survey to the entire farm team list. Mailing list has been updated and survey is in preparation; first tape scheduled for June on "Renewing American Civilization" and "Entrepreneurial Health Care."

3. Wisconsin Support: In the category of "targets of opportunity," there are a series of special elections for the State Senate in Wisconsin coming up this Spring -- the outcomes of which will determine control of the Senate. We are currently working to schedule trips for Newt to make appearances on behalf of the Republican candidates in these races. Trip completed April 23.

Exhibit 3

Elisabeth
2945

EXHIBIT 4

GOPAC3 180

GOPAC

Community Activism

ACTV
&
AOW

Exhibit 4

AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP: REWRITING GRASSROOTS POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

A new chapter in the history of American political movements was written on May 19, 1990.

That was the day GOPAC launched "The American Opportunities Workshop." The American Opportunities Workshop (AOW) brought together citizen activists at 650 workshops across the country, linked together by television and satellites.

In 50 states, and hundreds of thousands of homes (via The Family Channel), activists listened as Congressman Newt Gingrich challenged the country to solve local problems by using common sense. The model became known as "the triangle of American success" -- harnessing high technology, entrepreneurial free enterprise and basic American values in searching for community based solutions to the country's problems.

AOW far exceeded our goal of 300 workshops in 20 states with 650 workshops in all 50 states. We knew that we could not let this "electronic town meeting" end on May 19th. Indeed, it was just the beginning.

Taking To The Airwaves

The decision was made to produce three pilot programs over the course of the summer. The project became known as American Citizens' Television (ACTV) and was sheperded by the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, a non-profit 501 (c) 3 organization chaired by Bo Callaway. Though legally no longer a GOPAC project, ACTV did rent space and operate out of the GOPAC office.

Our mission is to establish ACTV as a new, interactive information network. By using the latest in communications technology, we have already put together an impressive network of thousands of activists across the country.

The first pilot aired live on July 21st, again, on The Family Channel. The program centered on activists' involvement in television, specifically cable access television.

Because of this show, 200 activists contacted us about enrolling in television production courses at their local cable access stations. Our goal is to ultimately have thousands of community leaders producing their own local programming, tagged on to the end of our show and serving as the local portion of American Citizens' Television in their community.

Exhibit 4

American Citizens' Television: Creating a National Dialogue

Our next ACTV program aired in September; back to school month. We used the opportunity to showcase the provocative idea of "education choice." Choice in education allows families to send their children to any school they choose, public or private, with government education funds following students to the school of their choice.

With dozens of education groups around the country supporting the program, over 400 citizens joined us for workshops on September 29th. Hundreds of thousands more saw our program "Education Choice: The Citizens' Solution" on The Family Channel. Our program was hosted by The Honorable Pete du Pont, a strong advocate of choice in education for America's children and former chairman and founder of GOPAC.

Activists took advantage of the subject to invite school superintendents, PTA Presidents and teachers to local workshops and discuss the merits of the program. These workshops made it possible to advance the cause of education choice in communities across America.

Imitation -- The Sincerest Form of Flattery

Word quickly spread across the Washington community of the success of the American Opportunities Workshop and American Citizens' Television.

On September 22nd, Dr. Alan Keyes, President of the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste approached ACTV about heading up a new project.

Dr. Keyes wanted ACTV to take a leading role in organizing and planning the national "Taxpayer's Action Day." The plan called for hundreds of rallies across the country on October 27th, protesting high taxes and government waste and corruption. The goal was to recruit thousands of activists to protest in front of local, state and federal government offices and focus national media attention on the mood of angry taxpayers. Of course, the launching point for these rallies would be "Taxpayer's Revolt," the third and final ACTV pilot, aired on the morning of October 27th on The Family Channel.

With 4 weeks to go the project was nothing but an idea. Within days of taking on the project, ACTV made the idea a reality. Using techniques learned from earlier projects, ACTV organized rallies in 250 congressional districts. The rallies ranged in size from 3,500 in Detroit to 5 in Rome, New York.

Congress voted on the Federal budget voted on Taxpayer's Action Day. The timing couldn't have been better. All three networks carried news of the rallies and the public's outrage over the tax increases and the government's lack of spending discipline.

Exhibit 4

Ultimately, Taxpayer's Action Day would not have been possible without the expertise developed by GOPAC and ACTV in grassroots organization. The innovative American Opportunities Workshop has opened up new doors for mobilizing citizen activists.

Getting Out the Message

	May 19	July 21	Sept. 29	Oct.
27				
Workshops:	650	350	400	N/A
Affiliate producers:	N/A	212	35	N/A
Rallies:	N/A	N/A	N/A	250+
***Estimated attendance:	40,000	9,000	16,000	
50,000+				

*** Does not include television audience estimated at 250,000 per show.

Exhibit 4

ACTV
UPCOMING PROGRAMS

Saturday, September 29: "Focus on Education" -- Featuring Gov. Pete du Pont, Brookings Institution Scholar John Chubb and leaders of the education choice movement.

(Date TBA): "Veterans Solving Problems for Veterans" -- Veterans going outside the bureaucracy to solve problems in health care, education and retirement.

(Date TBA): "The Privatization Solution" -- Local governments are leading the way in privatization, cutting bureaucracy and improving services.

September 29th show airs on the Family Channel at:

10:00 a.m. Eastern

9:00 a.m. Central

8:00 a.m. Mountain

7:00 or 10:00 a.m. Pacific (check local listing)



AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

164

GOPAC3 184

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400

Washington, D.C. 20001

Phone: (202) 484-2312 Fax: (202) 783-3306

A Project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

American Citizens' Television is a project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Bo Callaway, Chairman.

For information, write or call:

ACTV

440 First St. NW, Suite 400

Washington, DC 20001

(202) 484-2312

PLEASE
PLACE
STAMP
HERE

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

Exhibit 4



ORGANIZING

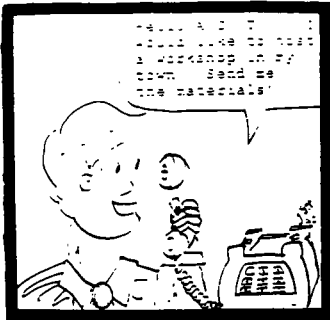
A

WORKSHOP

Exhibit 4

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

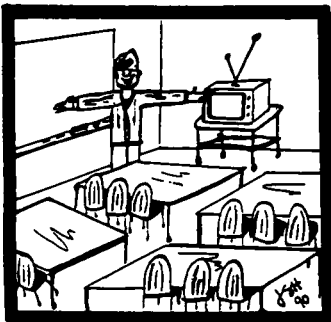
GOPAC3 186

**Step 1: CALL US!**

Call us at A.C. T.V. and let us know that you are interested in hosting a workshop. We will add you to our National Directory so you can be linked up with other activists. We will also send you a press release. Use this to attract media attention and community interest.

**Step 2: CONTACT COMMUNITY LEADERS**

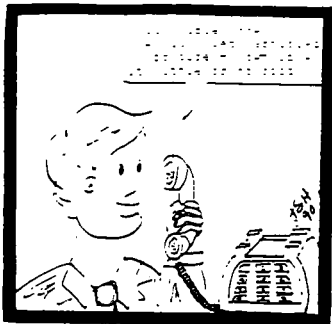
Contact community leaders and get them interested in your workshop. The group can work on finding solutions for local problems.

**Step 3: FIND A ROOM**

Find a room, school room, church hall, community center, hotel room, small business, any room that you can use as a meeting place. Make sure it is a facility where you can watch t.v. and receive the Family Channel on cable.

Exhibit 4

GOPAC3 188

Step 7: CONTACT YOUR CABLE ACCESS STATION

Talk to the station manager about the ACT access station and ask him/her to add the program. Find out how you can produce a local version of the national show.

Step 8: SHOWTIME!

On the day of the workshop, have the room prepared, refreshments available (coffee, donuts, etc.), materials ready, (clippings from newspapers about your topic, sign-in sheets, etc.) Also have your To-Do list for a project or projects you would like to see the group undertake after the broadcast.

Step 9: CALL US FOR HELP

Call us any time with your questions. We are here to help you every step of the way.

Call American Citizens Television at:

1-800-872-2798

or call:

Mark Colucci, Executive Director,
American Citizens Television.
Tel.#: (202) 484-2312.

American Citizens Television is a project of
the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

Produced and Illustrated
by J. Stefanie Hess

Exhibit 4

EXHIBIT 5

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

JUN 12 1990

FAM 0011

May 31, 1990

Mr. Tim Robertson
The Family Channel
1000 Centerville Turnpike
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23463

Dear Tim:

I enjoyed talking with you last Friday. I especially want to thank you for your offer to contribute one hour per month on the Family Channel to us.

On May 19th GOPAC launched the beginning of a new citizens' movement in America. The American Opportunities Workshop was a great success. We're very pleased about the depth of our television coverage and estimated that our audience at these workshops was over 40,000. The telecast focused on the experiences of citizens solving local problems in innovative ways by applying the principles of common-sense alternatives to bureaucracy and examining specific examples where these principles have been put to work.

I'd like to take a moment and introduce you to the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, a new non-partisan foundation that will continue building on the grass roots movement which began on May 19th. One of the projects ALOF is undertaking is the "American Citizens' Television" which will feature success stories of those individuals who were able to affect positive change in their communities by using alternatives to the failed methods of the bureaucratic welfare state.

These broadcasts will offer common-sense programming to be used by grass roots activists on local community access cable TV channels. This "American Citizens' Television" will be an ideal opportunity for a citizens' movement that is dedicated to the principle that American citizens, recruiting their friends and neighbors to solve local problems, are the key to success in the 1990's and essential for driving positive change in America.

By creating a citizens' movement, my fellow activists and I hope to communicate the principles of entrepreneurial free enterprise, basic American values and technological progress to the general public.

I want to invite you to share with me my deep commitment to changing America in a positive and innovative way -- by empowering the private citizen. Please join me today as a partner in this dynamic, educational project and bring America back. I am very excited about this foundation and the many important projects they are undertaking. We are now working very hard to get the seed money necessary to begin funding this new entity.

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Exhibit 5

FAM 0012

The Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation is a non-partisan, non-profit educational foundation and corporate as well as individual contributions are accepted. This organization has been given 501(c)(3) status by the Internal Revenue Service and your contribution is deductible on your income tax form. I have enclosed a letter from the Internal Revenue Service for your review. Please contact Stacey Oswalt at 484-2282, if you have any questions or would like more information.

Again, thank you for your generous and important contribution. I'm sorry things got so confused at the end with the workshop but everything went extremely well. I look forward to working with you and hope to see you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

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Exhibit 5

EXHIBIT 6

Eisenach
0357

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION



*Prospectus
for*

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

September 17, 1990

Exhibit 6

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 484-2312 Fax: (202) 783-5306

A Project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

o The Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation (ALOF), a 501(c)3 organization chaired by former Congressman Bo Callaway, has launched an exciting new project -- American Citizens' Television (ACTV) -- to produce and distribute television programming designed to inform grass-roots citizens groups about the need and opportunities for replacing failed government programs with opportunity-oriented, citizen-based solutions.

o Working in conjunction with grass roots groups such as Citizens Against Government Waste, ACTV produces 30 minutes of reform-oriented programming each month. Programs are distributed to cable systems and shown nationally on the Family Channel on the third Saturday of every month.

o ACTV is more than a TV show. It is an intrinsic part of a broader movement to educate citizen activists and teach them the communications tools that will be needed to get a reform-minded message across in the 1990s. Thus, ACTV helps local community activists work with their own cable systems to have the show re-broadcast on local community access channels in conjunction with local meetings of citizen activists. And, ACTV is helping nearly 200 local citizen activists become cable access producers, so that they can produce their own locally-oriented programming.

o American Citizens' Television's near-term objectives are (a) to create a network of monthly "electronic meetings" of citizen activist groups across the country, each functioning as a nexus for communication between local reformers and, simultaneously, being networked together on a national basis through ACTV, and (b) to create a vehicle through which to attract broader interest in the need and opportunities for common-sense alternatives to bureaucratic government.

o ACTV begins with a base of over 600 groups of community activists who organized workshops as part of the American Opportunities Workshop (AOW) project. AOW is a nationwide teleconference/television show airing on May 19, 1990, hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich and sponsored by GOPAC, a national political organization led by Gingrich and chaired by Bo Callaway. Each of the approximately 20,000 people who attended workshops received materials about ACTV.

o ALOF estimates that approximately \$50,000 will be needed to complete production and distribution of each monthly show, with additional (non-production) costs of \$20,000-\$25,000 per month. ALOF believes this budget can be met, eventually, through grants, co-sponsorship by other interested organizations, etc.

Exhibit 6

OVERVIEW

The Starting Point: American Opportunities Workshop

The immediate predecessor of ACTV is the "American Opportunities Workshop (AOW)," a nationwide, non-partisan teleconference/television show which aired on Saturday, May 19, 1990. AOW was sponsored by GOPAC, a national political organization chaired by Bo Callaway and led by Congressman Newt Gingrich (General Chairman). GOPAC was successful in building a network of more than 600 individual sites at which more than 20,000 people gathered to view the American Opportunities Workshop program and participate in follow-on workshops. AOW was shown nationally on cable TV's Family Channel and, importantly, was also aired by approximately 50 cable access stations across the country.

AOW received substantial favorable coverage in the national press. (See Attachment A.)

In addition, GOPAC was successful in attracting more than two dozen major co-sponsors and coordinating organizations to the AOW project, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Business and Industry Council and National Review magazine (which published a special supplement specifically for AOW participants).

GOPAC's decision to undertake AOW was based on two simple propositions. First, restoring America's tradition of citizen activism is essential to accomplishing the reforms needed in America in the 1990s. Second, the best, if not the only, means of inspiring the needed level of activism in the electronic age is television.

What Happens After May 19?

From the outset, GOPAC saw the May 19 AOW project as the beginning of something larger, not as an end in itself. Thus the question: "What Happens After May 19?"

As the AOW project proceeded, it became increasingly clear that the best follow-on mechanism would involve the continued use of television and, specifically, the use of community access television on cable systems. (There are more than 1,500 cable systems in the United States which operate community access channels for the benefit of local citizens' groups. These stations are required to make time available to any group which wishes to show community-oriented programming that is not obscene and meets minimal additional standards.)

Exhibit 6

Community access television provides a unique opportunity for networking together individuals in local, grass-roots level with one another, and, in turn, with other grass-roots groups across the country. It also offers a medium to get the reform message out to the broader public and thereby increase participation in the reform movement. Finally, the experience with AOW indicates that the national media is interested in the concept of using television as a grass-roots organizing tool and will provide ample coverage to such an effort, thereby further increasing its exposure.

Exhibit 6

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

The Transition from AOW to American Citizens' Television

With these thoughts in mind, the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation -- a 501(c)3 organization incorporated in Colorado and chaired by Bo Callaway -- has established a new entity, American Citizens' Television, that will undertake to build on the momentum created by the American Opportunities Workshop. As was the case with AOW, ACTV programming will be educational and non-partisan in nature, emphasizing the need and opportunities for reform.

To ensure a smooth transition, packages of information regarding American Citizens' Television and were distributed to each of the 20,000 AOW participants. These packages provided information about the project, and solicited the names of any participants who wish to be involved. (See Attachment B.) In responses received to date, the majority of the AOW participants are interested participating in the ACTV project, and more than 100 individuals have indicated they are interested in producing local cable television programs.

In addition, the Family Channel has indicated its desire to participate in American Citizens' Television by carrying ACTV shows on a regular basis. The Family Channel is one of the largest cable television networks in the U.S., reaching into 53 percent of all American homes -- i.e. virtually all homes wired for cable television.

American Citizens' Television: Near Term Activities

The first broadcast of American Citizens' Television occurred on July 21, 1990. The one-hour program was produced in the studios of Prince George's Community Television and focused on the opportunities presented by community access television. Ms. Sharon Ingraham, National Chairperson of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers, was among the participants in the show, which was hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich. (See Attachment C.) Workbooks were mailed to AOW participants, and nearly 300 workshops were held across the country in conjunction with the July 21 show, involving several thousand active participants.

Exhibit 6

The Fall programming schedule has also been set. On September 29, 1990, ACTV will air a 30-minute show focussing on the movement towards education choice. Former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont, an active leader of the education choice movement, will be hosting the show, which will also include Brookings Institution scholar John Chubb, the author of Politics, Markets and America's Schools. Leaders of the education choice movement have been active participants in the May 19 and July 21 efforts, and have played a significant role in formulating and promoting the September show.

ACTV's October 27 show will be entitled "The Taxpayer Revolt," and will be hosted by Alan Keyes, chairman of Citizens Against Government Waste. The program will be aired in conjunction with "Taxpayer's Action Day," an effort to unite citizen activists from around the country for one day in a single act of protest against federal waste, fraud, ineptitude and abuse. Local organizers will bring activists together to view the television show and then hold their own rallies to express voter dissatisfaction with federal mismanagement of taxpayer's money. The rallies will give the citizens the opportunity to express their anger over the government waste and corruption that will be detailed in the October 27 show.

We are now developing programs for the coming year that will include such topics as crime, child care, privatization, the environment, housing and other important topics. Each show will focus on citizen-based solutions to community problems.

As a general matter, near-term activities will fall into four distinct categories: Planning and Design; Program Production; Coordination and Promotion; and Fundraising.

Planning and design will be overseen by Bo Callaway and carried out, to a large extent, by many of the same personnel who worked on the American Opportunities Workshop (working, in this capacity, for American Citizens' Television on a contract basis). Mr. Mark Colucci, formerly Deputy Political Director of GOPAC, has been hired as Executive Director of ACTV and will supervise all activities on a day-to-day basis. Obviously, major co-sponsors are also expected to play a major role in the planning and design phase of the project.

Program production has been contracted out to a production company, Prime Time Design. Prime Time Design is an established production company, and its work on the July 21 show was superior. Like the July 21 show, future shows will be produced in the studios of Prince George's Community Television, both to save money and to highlight the importance of community access television to our effort.

Exhibit 6

Coordination and promotion will be carried out by a small staff based in Washington, DC. The AOW workshop hosts and attendees thus far form ACTV's base of local producers and workshop leaders, but this base is expected to expand significantly as the project moves forward and additional co-sponsors add their own grass-roots activists to the ACTV fold. A pamphlet has been prepared and distributed to thousands of grass-roots activists and others who might be interested in participating. (See Attachment D.)

Fundraising for American Citizens' Television will be designed to raise as much "outside" money as possible, as soon as possible. ALOF plans to begin fundraising activities immediately, and Ms. Stacy Oswalt has been hired on a full-time basis to carry out this function. Efforts will be targeted at five major groups: (1) Foundations; (2) Corporations; (3) High-dollar individual donors; (4) Small (i.e. direct mail) donors; and (5) Cooperating Co-sponsors from within the conservative/reform community.

American Citizens' Television: Long-Run Goals

In the longer-run, American Citizens' Television faces two challenges: To maintain and build on the base for its 60-minute monthly program, and in the long-run, to grow into a comprehensive television-based vehicle for citizen activism in the 1990's.

The early challenges will be to expand the "reach" of the program, coordinate local efforts to create follow-on local programming, sign up as many co-sponsors from within the conservative/reform movement as possible and build a stable long-term funding base. By the end of 1990: The program should be seen on as many as 300 community access stations; 100 or more local groups should have created follow-on programming that airs in conjunction with the national show; a dozen or more major co-sponsors should have signed up; and, the program should be fully funded through 1991.

If these near-term objectives are met, then 1991 can be a year of building for American Citizens' Television -- towards an ultimate (blue-sky) objective of becoming a 24-hour-a-day national cable network. Obviously, such ambitious thoughts depend on near-term success, which is where all of our efforts will focus.

Exhibit 6

1990-1991 Budget Requirements

American Citizen's Television will operate at the lowest possible cost, minimizing overhead and contracting out as much work as possible while maintaining management control.

While this is a pathbreaking project, and costs are therefore somewhat difficult to predict, the experience with the American Opportunities Workshop project and the July 21 ACTV program provide a solid basis for estimating the costs involved in American Citizens' Television. In the near-term, these costs can be divided into the four categories noted above: Planning and Design; Program Production; Coordination and Promotion; and, Fundraising.

Monthly budget estimates for each activity are as follows:

Planning and Design	\$ 7,500
Program Production	
(incl. distribution)	30,000
Coordination and Promotion	30,000
<u>Fundraising</u>	<u>5,000</u>
 TOTAL	 \$72,500

These estimates include all overhead costs (e.g. space, phones, stationery, postage and printing, etc.).

Exhibit 6

SUMMARY

American Citizens' Television, like the American Opportunities Workshop, is an experiment. It may fail for any number of reasons. And, if it does, everyone involved should be prepared to recognize that failure and walk away -- happy in the knowledge that it was an experiment worth trying.

The reason this experiment is worth trying is because it has the potential to produce a very significant increase in citizen participation in the democratic process and, in turn, substantial reform of a government that is currently failing at so many levels. No medium, other than television, has the potential to reach a large enough audience, with a powerful enough message, to produce this result.

If American Citizens' Television succeeds, it will be seen as one of the defining elements of American civic culture in the 1990's -- the vehicle that gave American citizens the chance to retake control of their government.

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT A

Eisenach
0367

A24 SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1990

THE WASHINGTON POST

GOP-Backed Teleconference Stresses Community-Based Solutions

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT, May 19—At the stroke of 10 a.m. today, the "urban communities movement of the 1990s" was launched here in the Rev. Keith Butler's crowded inter-city church.

And in a barbecue restaurant in rural Newman, Ga.

And in a Hispanic neighborhood in San Diego, a community center in Orange City, Iowa, and an auditorium in Portland, Maine.

Community workshops in these five sites were strung together by satellite into a live, televised, interactive, hour-long national town meeting that married conservative ideology with modern technology and old-fashioned grass-roots organizing.

The \$500,000 satellite teleconference was the brainchild of House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who explained from his perch on a stool at Strawberry's Barbecue in Newman that the point was to demonstrate that solutions to common problems of poverty, drugs, crime, education and the environment "will not come from one big decision in Washington."

"The age of the centralized state is over," President Bush added in a brief taped speech. "We must address problems not with bureaucracies, but at the community level, one citizen at a time."

Here on the east side of Detroit, the featured community problem-solver was a guest from Milwaukee, state Rep. Polly Williams, who described how she pushed the most advanced school voucher program in the nation through the Wisconsin state legislature earlier this year.



City Councilman Keith Butler, right, takes question from a woman in the Detroit audience during yesterday's live broadcast originating from five cities.

Vouchers are a favorite approach of conservatives because they give individuals more choice and make public bureaucracies face stiffer competition. Under the Wisconsin plan, which goes into effect this fall, almost 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be given \$2,500 apiece to cover their full tuition if they choose to attend a private non-sectarian school. For every child who exercises that option, the Milwaukee school system will lose \$2,500 in state funding.

Williams, a Democrat, a former

welfare mother and a state coordinator in 1984 and 1985 for Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, said only "bureaucrats" and "white liberals" fought the change.

Among her most interested listeners here was Butler, 34, the pastor of the 5,000-member Word of Christ Christian Center and a rising political force in Detroit. Two years ago, Butler, who is black, organized a grass-roots movement that defeated a casino gambling referendum favored by Mayor Coleman Young (D); last year he became the first Republican in recent history elected to the City Council.

Butler is supporting a slate of candidates for school board this year who advocate a similar voucher

Exhibit 6

er plan for Detroit. "There is a realization that what is going on in the schools right now just isn't working," he said.

Although today's program was funded by GOPAC, a Republican political action committee, there were no references to partisan politics. "This isn't about politics," Butler said. "It's about helping people learn how to succeed. If you do that, they'll listen to what you're talking about in other areas too."

The hour did not go flawlessly. A glitch made the satellite-fed pictures arrive on the two large television screens in Butler's church a split second ahead of the audio—so when Bush spoke or when a Georgia sheriff described how he maneuvered past local bureaucrats to build a new low-cost modular jail or when a Maine entrepreneur talked about his environmentally safe coolant for re-

frigerators, reading everyone's lips was no small feat.

The question-and-answer segment between cities didn't produce much in the way of soaring exchanges. "What advice would you give to citizens who want to get involved?" a Hispanic restaurateur from San Diego asked Butler midway through the program. "Roll up your sleeves and go to work," he responded.

But the workshop here grew much more animated—full of name and phone number exchanges—once the show was over, and the Detroiters spent another hour talking among themselves.

"As a race, we are not trained to become entrepreneurs, we are trained to work for other people," Terry Wynn said to the applause of the overwhelmingly black audience. "A lot of our people think we are doomed to just work for GM [Gen-

eral Motors] for 40 years and then die. We have to change the way we think."

Wynn, 27, who started a business that places temporary workers in law offices, asked Butler if he would use his church to teach entrepreneurial skills to the community. "We already do," Butler said. "Now all of you here tell your pastors to do that too. If you ask, they'll respond."

The exchange captured what Gingrich hopes will happen on an ongoing basis. Starting in July, his plan is for community activists to have monthly town meetings, shown on local community access cable channels across the country. GOPAC's American Opportunities Workshop provides programming to assist them. "What we are really creating here is an American citizen's television," said Howard "Bo" Callaway, chairman of GOPAC.

Organizers of today's teleconference said it was sent by satellite to about 600 community workshop sites around the country. Several dozen cable stations also picked it up.

Exhibit 6

G.O.P. Conservatives Take Grass-Roots Road

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

NEWNAN, Ga., May 10 — Representative Newt Gingrich's vision of the conservative future came to Sprayberry's Barbecue here today. Satellite trucks rolled up in the parking lot. Mr. Gingrich took his spot before the cameras, and a national teleconference began, grandly aimed at inaugurating a "citizens opportunity movement."

The one-hour program featured a tough, jail-building country sheriff, a black woman who fought for the right of parents to choose which schools their children could attend and a Hispanic entrepreneur, all presented as success stories of people solving problems close to home.

The program, carried by cable stations and by satellite to more than 500 sites around the country, repeated the message that Mr. Gingrich and other conservatives have been advancing in recent months: "All of us know the bureaucratic welfare state has failed," said Mr. Gingrich, a Georgia Republican, House minority whip and a leading theoretician of the right.

The future, he and others argued over the hour, depends on citizens solving problems at the grass roots, technological innovation, entrepreneurial drive and a resurgence of basic American values like hard work, education and responsibility.

While organizers of the conference sought a non-partisan, nonideological tone — former Attorney General Griffin B. Bell, a Democrat, was one of the guests — it reflected the attempt by many conservatives to redefine their movement for the 1990's.

"We can't be successful unless we find a replacement for the bureaucratic welfare state," Mr. Gingrich said after the conference. "I mean, we are trapped into being basically a cheap welfare party versus a lavish welfare party."

The solution, in the view of some conservatives, is "a new paradigm" for American politics that emphasizes a decentralized, grass-roots approach to dealing with many social needs. Mr. Gingrich spent much of today talking about the unique nature and responsibilities of American citizenship, quoting texts from de Tocqueville to the Declaration of Independence.

Republican Leaders on Tape

Today's session also included taped messages from President Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Jack Kemp. Mr. Quayle talked about unleashing the American spirit in "the exploration, conquest and development of space." Mr. Bush talked about the power of "a thousand points of light," the cumulative impact of individuals doing good deeds. "What

you're doing this morning really matters," the President said. And Mr. Kemp talked about giving "opportunity to help people help themselves."

Democrats were watching the effort with interest. "We don't postpone the idea of progressive action by citizens to deal with problems locally," said Michael McCurry, a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee. "We think that's an idea with a lot of potential in the Democratic Party."

Mr. McCurry suggested, however, that today's event could also be serving Mr. Gingrich's personal political needs, providing him with a national forum and potentially a new national network.

Today's session was principally sponsored by a political action committee, Gopac, devoted to building the Republican Party at the local level. Former Representative Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Georgia, chairman of the committee, said today that a non-partisan organization would be established to produce and distribute future programming like today's for use by citizens groups.

Exhibit 6

DONALD LAMBRO

Six-190

Eisenach
0370

Turning the right to new challenges

ASSISTANT TO CONSERVATIVE LEADER DONALD LAMBRO explains the political arena and the Soviet empire's influence on the right in America's political scene.

Since the sweeping Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, national security and a number of conservative lawmakers like Texas Sen. Phil Gramm are now supporting deep U.S. defense cuts. The pillars of conservative thought would appear to be crumbling, and with the foundation of a movement that has dominated national politics for the past decade.

But recent events suggest that the conservative system is strong. Ambitious conservative leaders are working to expand their once-narrow political boundaries and the electoral arena. Democratic leadership, especially among younger moderates if they succeed, they will have dramatically changed. American politics for many years to come.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Heritage Foundation, is a widely syndicated columnist.

To a large degree, conservatives here are shifting their attention and resources away from Washington and returning to the grass roots from whence they came. Only this time they are using the media technology of the 1960s to reach a broader audience of potential converts.

Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich's "American Opportunities Workshops" last Saturday is the latest manifestation of what is happening on the political right. The House Republican whip's \$500,000 media conference, which took place in about 800 community workshops around the country, was the GOP's first real attempt to reach out to urban conservatives from Detroit to San Diego, with new ideas to combat old problems.

Mr. Gingrich's bold drive into uncharted territory, funded by GOPAC, his personal action committee, is aimed to attract the broader grassroots groups whose support he had originally hoped to get. Yet it was an important first step that could yield his party rich political dividends down the road and perhaps make him the conservative movement's acknowledged new leader.

The GOP leaders including President Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle and Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Foy are appearing on the program in which Mr. Bush set the theme by declaring "The age of the conservative is over." That is a large understatement. The age of the conservative is over through the action of programs Mr. Gingrich and a number of other conservatives are pushing.

Democrats participated too, including former Attorney General Griffin Bell and new House House leaders like Detroit City Council Member Keith Butler, a Republican, and Wisconsin state Rep. Paul Williams, a Democrat, who explained how the new movement of the grassroots movement is a conservative movement.

Mrs. Williams, a spunky, articulate Texas Jackson activist who rose out of poverty to win election to the state legislature, told her "government bureaucrats" and "white liberals" to get the same choice proposals at every turn.

Significantly her voucher plan, which will help send low-income students to her district's private sectarian schools, has won strong support from conservatives and a growing number of liberals around the country. Mr. Butler, for example, is backing a plan of school-board candidates who support a similar plan for Detroit.

Despite GOPAC's central role, a conscious effort was made in the program to avoid partisan political rhetoric. "We are about politics. It's about helping people learn how to succeed. If you do that, they'll listen to what you're talking about in other areas too," Mr. Butler said.

This isn't a one-time deal, either. Mr. Gingrich believes the next platform for the conservative movement is an all-out, sustained assault on the bureaucracy. Liberal welfare state that he blames for delaying cities, poverty, rampant crime and failing public schools.

Believing that television is the most effective way to reach out to these new constituencies, he is launching a carryover Citizens' Opportunities Network. In July it will begin distributing programs promoting new conservative initiatives to grassroots activists on local community access cable TV channels.

Naturally, Mr. Gingrich's "Citizens' Opportunities Network" is not acting alone. The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, has financed its own "new initiatives" outreach program to promote ideas like Paul Williams' vouchers and enterprise zones to encourage activity around the country.

Sundary Mc Kemp has been selling his proposals for instant-term agreement and ownership of public housing to black leaders from Chicago to Atlanta.

In short, the conservatives are far from dead. Like good entrepreneurs everywhere, they are taking their innovative capitalist wares on the road and seeking new markets — changing the face of conservative politics.



They are taking their innovative capitalist wares on the road.

Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT B

Eisenach
0372FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
JULY 19, 1990CONTACT: Mark Colucci
202-484-2312

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION PREMIERS THIS WEEK

Washington, DC: Former Congressman Bo Callaway announced today that the premier edition of American Citizens' Television (ACTV), a monthly television program hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich, will be aired live on The Family Channel on Saturday, July 21, at 10:00 a.m. EDT. The program, sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, which Callaway chairs, focusses on the need for increased citizen participation in the democratic process.

Saturday's program will originate from the studios of Prince Georges Community Television, in Landover, MD, and will focus on the potential of community access television in organizing and empowering citizen activism. Sharon Ingraham, the Chairman of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers, will be featured on the show, as will Patrick McGuigan, who hosts a cable access program in Fairfax, County, VA. One of ACTV's major objectives is to create a nationwide network of cable access producers, each utilizing the national programming ACT will create as well as producing local shows focussing on local issues.

The show will run for 60 minutes, with the last half-hour dedicated to discussion with the audience and call-ins from viewers.

American Citizens' Television is an offshoot of the widely acclaimed American Opportunities Workshop, which took place nationwide on May 19, and was also seen on the Family Channel. Like the May 19 workshop, the ACT premier show will be seen by thousands of people meeting in workshops across the country to discuss the show's content and develop local initiatives. Callaway indicated that nearly 300 workshops will be held in conjunction with the July 21 broadcast.

The next ACT show will be aired in late September, and will focus on the movement for parental choice in education. Thereafter, the program will air on a monthly basis, providing a constant source of information on opportunity-oriented solutions to local problems such as crime and drugs, excessive bureaucracy and veterans affairs.

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT C

Eisenach
0373/0374

An Introduction to
THE CITIZENS' OPPORTUNITIES NETWORK:
AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

The success of any citizens' movement hinges on two things: Its ideas and its ability to communicate those ideas to the general public. Simply put, a successful movement is a "noisy" movement. That's why a group of activists (including many of the same folks who organized the American Opportunities Workshop) is organizing The Citizens' Opportunities Network.

The Citizens' Opportunities Network (CO-NET) will be a nationwide satellite television network offering common-sense programming to community access channels on cable television systems across the country. Now being organized, CO-NET will be a project of a broad array of national grass-roots groups.

CO-NET will offer to community access stations more of the kinds of programming seen on the May 19 American Opportunities Workshop — exposure of bureaucratic welfare state abuses, the principles of common-sense

reform and specific examples of success stories where those principles have been put to work.

Just like the American Opportunities Workshop, CO-NET is founded in the belief that local activists, recruiting their friends and neighbors to solve local problems, is the key to success in the 1990's. Based on that belief, CO-NET will work with you to help you set up your own community access television show that, in effect, will serve as a monthly electronic meeting of the citizens' opportunities movement in your community.

Every month, CO-NET will provide at least 30 minutes of national programming that you can use on your show — but it will be up to you to fill out the rest of the program (with interviews, call-in opportunities, or video tape that you produce locally). And, CO-NET will take the best of all the locally produced programs and make them part of its national show: "American Citizens' Home Videos."

CO-NET will broadcast its first show on July 21, 1990, and begin monthly shows in September. Its success depends on you. The next few pages are designed to help you get started in getting CO-NET on the air in your community.

**IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE ABOUT CO-NET, BE SURE TO CHECK
 THE APPROPRIATE BOX ON YOUR REGISTRATION CARD.**

Exhibit 6

Getting Started: Immediate Objectives

It is important to be realistic about what is involved in producing your own show for community access television. Don't expect to walk into the community access office at your local cable system and be on the air with your own show the next week. On the other hand, be assured that with a reasonable commitment of time on your part, you can be on the air within a couple of months, or even sooner.

If you are willing to make this small commitment, you will be amazed how many people will watch your community access show. The appetite for public affairs programming is unlimited -- consider that, at any given moment, hundreds of thousands of people are tuned in to C-SPAN. This is your chance to tap into that market.

In the short run, you will want to accomplish a few basic objectives. (NOTE: As you work through these points, refer to the worksheet on the back of the next page.)

1. First, decide before you leave today who in your American Opportunities Workshop will take primary responsibility for getting CO-NET's first broadcast -- on July 21 -- on the air. It may not be possible for you to have your own show in place by that date, but that's OK. Both the July 21 broadcast and those that follow will be complete stand-alone shows, so that follow-on local programming is optional rather than necessary. Many community access stations agreed to air the American Opportunities Workshop,

many will be more than willing to carry "American Citizens' Home Videos."

2. To get started creating your own show, contact your local cable TV system and find the phone number and location of the community access office. Call them and request a package of information on procedures for getting on the air, training programs, etc. (In many cases, your workshop leader already has this information -- especially if you are in one of the dozens of communities in which the American Opportunities Workshop is being carried live on community access TV.)

3. Identify people you know -- maybe people in your workshop -- who already have experience producing television programs. For example, we know that several of the hosts of the American Opportunities Workshop program already have shows on community access television.

4. Decide who among you, or among people you know, would be most interested in being part of an ongoing community access television show. Put together a production team, and arrange with the community access office at your cable system to sign up for training. Before you leave today, assign primary responsibility to one or two people to take charge of the project and make it happen.

5. Ask your community access office for a list of people who have already taken the station's training programs.

Exhibit 6

Call them and see if they would be interested in helping produce your show. (This is more likely to produce results than you may think: many people involved in community access TV are there because they are interested in the technical side of TV production. They may be just waiting for a chance to put their technical skills to work on your project.)

6. Determine who will participate as "talent" -- i.e. who will actually be the host of your local show. Ideally, this will be someone (an elected official or well-known activist, for example) who feels comfortable speaking in front of groups and whose participation in the show will guarantee a built-in audience.

7. Decide which examples of success stories in your community -- examples like those shown in the American Opportunities Workshop -- most deserve national attention. Using equipment from your community access station, or your own video cam-corder, produce a short documentary-style video and send it to CO-NET. The best videos received will be included in CO-NET's July 21 broadcast, "American Citizens' Home Videos."

Some Basic Facts About Community Access Television

Community access channels were created to give every citizen an opportunity to produce and show programs about local events. More than 1,500 cable systems across the country have community access stations (i.e. they have allocated one or more channels on the cable to community-access programming and they will make available production facilities and equipment for local people to produce local shows).

There are very few restrictions on what kinds of programs can be shown on community access TV. Programs cannot be obscene or libelous, and many systems also discourage programming that is narrowly political or advocates the election of particular candidates. Some stations also require that programs contain at least some locally-produced material.

Most community access stations require that people who want to produce their own shows take a training course to become familiar with the equipment, and they generally offer excellent courses for a nominal fee.

**HELP INVENT THE CITIZEN ACTIVISM OF THE 1990'S.
HOST YOUR OWN TV SHOW AND
BE A PART OF AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION!**

Exhibit 6

*CITIZENS' OPPORTUNITIES NETWORK
WORKSHEET*

1. WHO WILL TAKE CHARGE OF GETTING THE JULY 21 SHOW ON THE AIR: _____

2. OUR COMMUNITY ACCESS STATION IS: _____

3. PEOPLE WE KNOW WHO HAVE TELEVISION SKILLS: _____

4. WHO AMONG US HERE TODAY WILL TAKE CHARGE: _____

5. WHO WILL CALL TO GET NAMES OF PRODUCTION PEOPLE FROM THE CABLE ACCESS CHANNEL: _____

6. WHO WILL BE THE "STAR(S)" OF OUR SHOW: _____

7. WHAT LOCAL EXAMPLES OF SUCCESS STORIES SHOULD WE NOMINATE FOR "AMERICAN CITIZENS' HOME VIDEOS": _____

MAKE SURE TO INDICATE ON YOUR REGISTRATION CARD
THAT YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CO-NET

Exhibit 6

What is American Citizens' Television?

American Citizens' Television ACTV is a unique blend of 1990's communications technology, grassroots activism and an opportunity-oriented approach to America's problems. Sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, ACTV is a non-partisan effort to empower citizens to create effective solutions to problems facing their communities.

ACTV is not about top-down solutions from Washington or anywhere else. It is about local citizens creating common-sense solutions to their own problems. ACTV is a forum in which citizen activists can share information on local problems and -- more importantly -- on how to create opportunities through local solutions.

ACTV produces and distributes programs that show how citizens across the country are solving specific problems in their own communities -- education, crime and drugs, housing, environment, veterans issues, etc. ACTV's programs are distributed to activists, community access television stations and, nationally, via the Family Channel, one of America's largest cable networks.

ACTV and Citizen Activism

ACTV is dedicated to the idea that only an explosion of citizen activism -- a citizens' opportunities movement -- can create the solutions to America's problems. By encouraging citizen participation in the democratic process, ACTV aims to make the 1990's a decade of reform and set the stage for a 21st century in which opportunities are available to all Americans.

ACTV and Cable Access

ACTV is also distributed through local public access channels on cable television systems. There are more than 2,000 such cable access facilities, offering citizen-produced programming in communities all across the country.

In fact, each ACTV program is designed to be used as part of a local cable access program that you can produce in your own community. One of ACTV's goals is to build a national cable access network, with producers across the country using ACTV's monthly program as part of a local show focussing on local problems and solutions -- a sort of monthly electronic meeting of the citizens' opportunities movement in each community.

How Can You Get Involved in ACTV?

The key to ACTV is citizen participation. Only if thousands and ultimately millions of Americans get involved to create common-sense solutions will ACTV have achieved its goals. Get involved by:

o Watching ACTV: Write or call ACTV and let us know you're interested. We'll send you a program guide to ACTV shows airing in your area, showing what topics are being covered.

o Participating in an ACTV Workshop: All over the country, citizens are holding workshops in conjunction with each ACTV monthly show. They meet -- in homes, businesses, libraries or anywhere that's convenient -- to watch the show and design local activities based on what they learn. Call ACTV to find out if there's a workshop in your area or, if not, how you can start one.

o Becoming An ACTV Producer: Write or call ACTV and find out how you can produce your own local ACTV show on cable access. It's easier than you may think: Most cable access stations offer training programs that will prepare you to be producing your own show in as little as four weeks. And, ACTV staff are prepared to work with you every step of the way.

o Sending Us Your Success Stories: Each month, ACTV will highlight the success stories of local citizens solving local problems. Use your home video camera and produce a short story on what you've done in your community.

YES...

I WANT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION!

Please send me information on:

- ___ Dates and topics of ACTV programs.
- ___ Participating in or hosting an ACTV workshop in my community.
- ___ Becoming an ACTV affiliate producer and hosting my own cable access television show.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Daytime Phone: _____

Detach and Return This Page

or

Call Mr. Mark Colucci
Executive Director, ACTV
(202) 484-2312

Exhibit 6

EXHIBIT 7

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kay, Jeff, Don, Joe, Eddie, Tom, Mark, John, Steve, Dan Swillinger, Dan Meyer

FROM: Bo

SUBJECT: Project Launch - the first meeting and follow up.

DATE: January 20, 1990

Most of you were at the initial meeting to launch Project Launch on January 18, 1990. Jeff will have minutes to all of you shortly. The minutes will outline decisions made and actions to be taken. This memo is to give some of my thoughts that might add to the minutes that you will receive.

DECISIONS AGREED TO:

1. The project will be called "American Opportunity Workshop - New Solutions for the '90's".
2. The date will be May 19, 1990 - Saturday morning.
3. There will be some kind of national TV access, probably through an uplink to one or more satellites and downlinks to dishes available in individual homes and meeting places such as hotels and chambers of commerce.
4. A major aspect of the project will be press coverage. This is the only way that we will enlarge those who are effected beyond activists into our target group of those who do not currently vote. The initial press briefing should be national in scope and held around the end of February.
5. Newt will have primary responsibility for the content of the program, but will not otherwise be involved in the implementation of the project other than to give ideas that may or may not be accepted.
6. Although we should do everything possible to achieve as much participation as possible, success is defined as at least 300 sites with hosts or hostesses in at least 20 states.

PROCEDURE:

1. All actions will be clearly defined and reported in minutes. Every action will have the person(s) responsible and a date for completion of the action.
2. All meetings will begin with a report on all previously assigned actions.
3. Bo will preside - Kay will preside in his absence.

COMMENTS ON WALK WITH NEWT - Friday, January 19

1. Newt is very pleased with the enthusiasm that all of us and the others that he has contacted have for the project. He feels confident that we will achieve success.

WGC2-01025

Exhibit 7

2. Newt reacted to several of my concerns as follows:
 Concern: It will be very hard to have a high quality television program that lasts as long 90 minutes.

Response: Newt is not wedded to 90 minutes or to any particular length. If 45 minutes would do the job better, he would be all for that.

Concern: "Network Quality Television" is so expensive that several in the meeting said it might cost as much as \$500,000. At even half of that cost, the production cost would be too much for us to consider the kind of follow up that we otherwise might want. Even if we could get a project donor to pay for a \$500,000 program, this is not the way to launch a movement. It is too expensive and too generated from the top. As an example, if we got 10,000 at our 300 sites (33 per site, a high number), we would be paying \$50.00 per person viewing the program, clearly inappropriate.

Response: Newt felt that it would be absurd to spend that kind of money on production. If the words "Network Quality" are the problem, let's use the words "Public Broadcasting Quality" or some words like that. Let's use the common sense approach - go to all tape if necessary - use a studio that is donated or cheap, either NRCC or RNC or elsewhere in Washington - get the examples around the country by asking people such as Gov. Campbell, Keith Butler and even the housewife with a success story to submit their own tape. Most of them will have access to someone who can do a pretty good quality job if we give them the specifications of what we want. Then the main job that we will need to have done centrally is a first class editing job. Newt has some firm ideas on the kind of production that he wants which is appropriate since he is responsible for content. He wants to be involved in the RFP from the initial draft.

*The next meeting is
 Jan 31 at 9:00 at
 COPAC*

Exhibit 7

EXHIBIT 8


REVENUES AND EXPENSES					
CHARTER GROUP, AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP, & FOCUS GROUP					
	JAN - JUN YEAR: 1990				
	% OF TOTAL RECEIPTS	TOTAL EXPENSES	EXPENSE AS % OF TOTAL EXPENSES		
INCOME:					
CHARTER GROUP MEMBERSHIP	\$64,656	51%	204,580	24%	*
AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES	401,062	36%	517,398	62%	*
FOCUS GROUP PROJECT	150,000	13%	113,451	14%	*
		0%			*
TOTALS	1,115,718	100%	835,437		*
					*
					*
			835,437	100%	*
					*
A.O.W. INCOME			FOCUS GROUP INCOME		
T. KOHLER *	100,000		GILDER - MAR	50,000	
P. GILLETTE *	25,000		- APR	50,000	
O. ROBERTS	100,000		- MAY	50,000	
V. GILDER	25,000				
T. ANDERSEN	50,000				
E. KRIEDEL	50,000				
T. KOHLER	50,000		TOTAL	150,000	
AOW TAPE SALES	1,062				
TOTAL A.O.W. INCOME	401,062				

EXHIBIT 9

Eisenach
3907

April 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 
SUBJECT: AOW Production Status Report

Production for the AOW show is going well. There are some issues, however, that you need to be aware of.

Family Network

After failing to return phone calls for a week, the Family Network has said no. I have talked with Judy Lyons, the Programming Executive in charge of special programming. She discussed the AOW show with Paul Krimsier, the VP for programming (and the name given us by Pat Robertson), who simply indicated they were not willing to break into their children's programming for this. In talking with me today, Judy was very frank in indicating that Pat Robertson often tells people that they can get on the Family Network, but that he doesn't often really "mean it" -- i.e. that absent a call from Pat to Paul Krimsier, we won't be taken seriously.

They also indicated that a price of \$30,000 or thereabouts would compensate them for lost revenue, if they were to carry the show (but, absent a call from Pat, they don't want to do it even for \$30,000).

Bottom line is: For us to get on the Family Network, you are going to have to call Pat Robertson and tell him that Paul Krimsier needs to hear directly from Pat that this is important. I believe that I will get a call from Paul Krimsier about 30 seconds after Pat makes that call and that things will go smoothly from there. Robertson's number is 804/424-7777.

Script

A copy of the current working draft of the script is at Attachment A. You may want to refer to it as you read the following paragraphs.

1. We have not been able to make contact with Raymond Kurzweil, and my conversation with George Gilder suggests he may not be the right story at this particular moment anyway. (He's started a new business which is having a tough time of it, and therefore is very focussed on other things.)

Exhibit 9

Page 2

As an alternative, we have identified an inventor/small businessman in Maine, Doug Sukeforth, who has invented sludge de-watering technology and also makes an environmentally sound refrigeration system. He checks out with EPA and the Chamber, and Ron feels he will make a good story. I am also checking him out with McKernan's office. He's also sympathetic to what we're about, and would be able to come to Portland. Background on Sukeforth is at Attachment B.

Barring other thoughts or concerns from you or others who receive this memo, Ron will fly to Maine to tape the Sukeforth story sometime next week.

2. With Babbitt's pullout in San Diego, we are without a co-host at that site. Rose Mofford has been suggested, but Jon Kyl reports she probably would be better on tape than live. Having her on tape, however, would (a) increase the program's tilt away from live versus taped material, (b) conflict with Kemp's taped segment, which is to be introduced out of San Diego, and (c) increase the production budget by \$3,000-5,000.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I intend to make one more pass at Jon Kyl on the notion of Gov. Mofford appearing, however briefly, live at the San Diego site. Her role would be to co-host the site (which basically means standing next to Kyl) and to say (following the Luis Garcia video) something about how she sees Hispanics all over Arizona succeeding in much the same way, using the same entrepreneurial spirit and basic American values. If Jon feels this is just not workable, I recommend we don't proceed further.

3. The veterans story that makes far and away the most sense involves "BRAVO," the veterans affairs show broadcast through a network of cable access channels. BRAVO has also been involved in putting together a "buddy-finder" system for Vietnam veterans to locate people they served with. (See script at Attachment C.) The plan is for Tony Diamond (BRAVO) to take a camera crew to Davenport, IA on Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. Ron will then shoot a story that shows BRAVO shooting the "buddy-finder" story for showing later on the BRAVO network.

At the same time, Fred Grandy has expressed strong interest in our covering a story on the "Orange City 21 Foundation," an economic/community development group that is just getting started in Orange City, IA (the workshop site). (See materials at Attachment D.) Orange City 21 is, in some ways, not that strong a story. First, it doesn't appear to be particularly unique in any way. Second, it is just getting started, and therefore doesn't have any notable success stories to be told. On the other hand, I'm pretty confident that the leaders of an economic/community development foundation in Orange City must be (a) "real Americans" and (b) applying common sense focussed on opportunity and success.

Exhibit 9

Eisenach
3909

Page 3

One possibility is to use the Orange City 21 story to explain common sense focussed on opportunities and success, and to use the BRAVO piece as a way of explaining the use of cable access TV to build a movement.

Ron can shoot both the BRAVO and Orange City 21 stories while he is in Iowa next week, and we can then decide how to use each. This is how we will proceed unless we hear from you.

Follow-Through/Post-May 19

Through a series of discussions involving Jim Tilton, Daryl Connor, Steve Hanser, Eddie Mahe, Bo, Kay and myself, a consensus has developed that a 501(c)3 organization should be created (or, alternatively, an existing 501(c)3 organization recruited) for post-May 19 activities associated with the Citizens Opportunities Movement. Further, it is universally agreed that that organization should be in place on May 19, that its existence should be announced on the show (if not before), that it should monitor and assist specific projects that may be discussed on the show or in the workbook and that funding for the organization should be solicited on the show (this last point is less clear than the first three).

The people noted above have appointed themselves the "design committee" for creating this entity. Jim Tilton, Bo Callaway and I are meeting with Alan Keyes on Monday, April 23 to discuss his interest in participating in and helping to fund such a project. And, Jim Tilton is actively exploring re-activating Bo's 501(c)3 in Colorado as another option.

Our belief is that your formal participation in this organization should be quite limited, due to the inevitable conflicts associated with a politician participating in an explicitly non-political, tax-exempt organization. However, this whole zone is something we need to discuss as soon as possible -- e.g. on April 27, a day you have set aside for AOW planning purposes.

Attachments

cc: Bo Callaway
Kay Riddle
Daryl Connor
Steve Hanser
Ron Herish
Eddie Mahe
Jim Tilton

Exhibit 9

EXHIBIT 10

COUNCIL FOR
CITIZENS AGAINST
GOVERNMENT WASTE
1-800-USA-DEBT

FAM 0024

1301 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone 202-467-5300
Fax 202-467-4253

October 21, 1990

Mr. Paul Teja
The Family Channel
1000 Centerville Turnpike
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23464

Dear Paul:

Please find enclosed a check from the Council for Citizen's Against Government Waste (CCAGW) for the amount of \$25,500 to pay for the airing of "Taxpayer's Revolt." As you know, "Taxpayer's Revolt" is an ACTV special on October 27 at 10:00 a.m. (est), sponsored by CCAGW.

This check should replace the payment made on September 26th by American Citizens' Television (check number 1171).

After review of the program, both parties agree the content reflects an agenda better suited to a 501(c)4 organization like the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste. ACTV is a 501(c)3.

Please rebate the original payment made to The Family Channel on September 26th to American Citizens' Television by Wednesday, October 24 so that we can proceed with the program.

Thank you for your understanding!

Sincerely,



Mark Colucci
American Citizens' Television



Tom Schatz
CCAGW

Exhibit 10

EXHIBIT 11

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

ROUTING SLIP

Eisenach
4254

DATE: 10/16/90

TRANSMIT BY:

FAX

HAND

FEDEX

MAIL

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN	<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE	<input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BILL DYKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JOE GAYLORD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FRED STEEPER	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER	<input type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINERHART	<input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS <u>MARIE COLACCI</u>	
DAN MEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>SPACY OSWALT</u>	

COMMENTS

YESTERDAY
HOW WOULD IT APPEAR THAT THIS
COULD BE ACTU'S OCTOBER SHOW. TENTATIVELY
SCHEDULED FOR 10/27. CASH PAYING ALL
OUT-OF-POCKET COSTS. LET'S DISCUSS.

Exhibit 11

TAXPAYER ACTION DAY ... OCTOBER 20 1990

Goal : To focus the general dissatisfaction with Congress and Washington.

American citizens are increasingly angered over the Congressional Pay Increase, the threat of higher taxes, a Congress without term limitation that has been transformed into a virtual "House of Lords," pork-barrel and wasteful spending -- our tax dollars used to finance obscene "art" -- and they are frustrated by a sense that they cannot control this mess.

Our goal is to help direct this anger at incumbents and to ensure that the last few weeks of the 1990 campaign focuses on these questions and whether or not Congressional incumbents are part of the problem or a potential part of the solution.

October 20 :

A one hour television show from Washington, going out over the Family Channel listing the bill of particulars -- the indictment of the behavior of Congress.

Local organizers will bring activists together to view the television show and the hold a demonstration outside the district office of the incumbent member of Congress.

Pre-October 20 Activities :

- 1) Press conference to announce the coalition and its plans for Taxpayer Action Day.
- 2) Select an organizer for each targeted Congressional district.
- 3) Provide the organizer material for the demonstration.
- 4) Radio talk show blitz to outline criticisms of Congress.
- 5) Repeated contact with the local organizer.
- 6) Press work, friendly Congressmen.
- 7) Friends in Congress to speak to this day on the floor.

Exhibit 11

Post-October 20 Activities :

- 1) Local press work by organizer.
- 2) Continue Radio talk show appearances.
- 3) Op/Ed column work.

What other resources/opportunities are available :

What member newsletters can echo the themes of Taxpayer Action Day ?

What columnists, radio or television appearances do our member organizations have ?

Exhibit 11

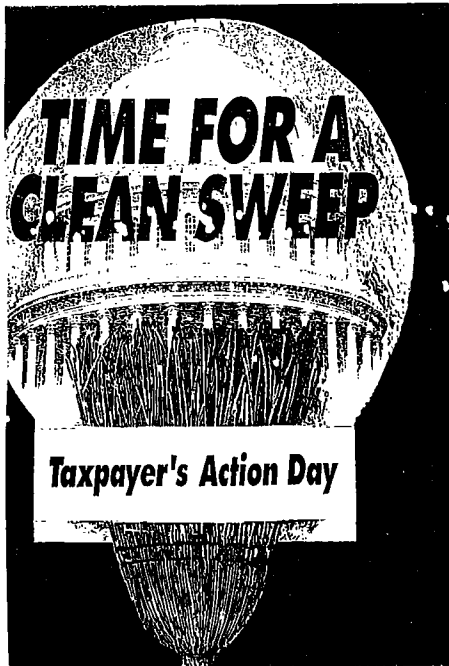


Exhibit 11

On October 13, Carry This Message To Your Least Favorite Politician

For years, you've been telling two-faced politicians they've managed to put this country \$3 trillion in debt, while some have managed to sit in office.

Here's your chance to publicly express your outrage.

National Taxpayer's Action Day

On Saturday, October 13, taxpayers all across the country will march through the streets of their towns and cities carrying brooms emblazoned with a symbol of voter dissatisfaction with federal mismanagement of taxpayer's money.

Whether you're angry about the S&L crisis, the national debt, a threatened federal tax increase, or the hundreds of billions of dollars the federal government wastes each year - National Taxpayer's Action Day is your chance to sound off.

Think about it. People of all ages, races, creeds and political persuasions, united for one day in a single act of civil protest against federal waste, fraud, ineptitude and abuse.

If you're mad as hell and would like to take part in the National Taxpayer's Action Day, call the toll-free number below. We'll tell you how you can organize or participate in a march in your town. We'll also send you a Taxpayer's Action sign for free.

But you'll have to bring your own broom.

Go ahead. Make the call. Politicians everywhere are praying you won't.

October 13 Taxpayer's Action Day

Call 1-800-OUTRAGE

EXHIBIT 12

MAY-25-90 FRI 14:17

FAX NO. 0

F.01

COVER LETTER TO JEFF:

May 25, 1990

Jeff, I am faxing two documents, one a memorandum on the transition from AOW to ACTI, the other a budget.

These are based on my understanding of where we are going on the very scaled down version of our productions that we discussed on our walk yesterday. They are obviously very tentative, but I need to have a general direction in my head to get everything started.

Newt came to GOPAC to make calls this morning. He has seen the memo and budget and has approved with a couple of comments, as follows:

1) He wants to lock in the three dates with his calendar and with studios as soon as possible.

He wants to be active in requesting vendors and in getting the specs of what we need for them.

While here Newt called Tim Robertson and told him about really being a partner with us in producing the shows. Tim was very excited and suggested a weekly 1/2 hour show. Newt got him back on the track of a monthly hour show from now until the end of the year at which time we could make a decision as to whether to continue or expand or make changes.

Newt wants you to call TV Guide and find out their time schedule for insertion of program date. His idea is that we need to know this when we talk to the Robertson people.

Tim is prepared to come to Washington with his production, legal and administrative team to discuss this with us in detail during the week of June 4. The idea is for you (and me, if I'm present - I'll be here on Monday and Tuesday) to get the commitment from Tim, then work out the details with the technical people. It is our hope that the Family Channel will do everything - the production, the satellite costs, etc. We would do the program content, the workshops and such promotion as we can afford.

The challenge now is to start getting answers to the details of the program. Can you make a list of the things that occur to you that we can be doing before our meeting with the Family Channel, together with a suggestion as to who should do what?

Exhibit 12

WGC2-01335

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

PERIOD: 3

Date

MEMORANDUM

MAY 25, 1970

TO: NEWT, JEFF, RAY

FROM: BO

SUBJECT: TRANSITION FROM AOW TO ACT

I am writing this memorandum in an attempt to give my initial ideas on where we go from here as we transition from AOW to ACT. The decisions discussed in this memo are still tentative and subject to change as we go forward, but here is where I come out now:

1. The decision to run our new TV program on a bare bones basis is a good one and should be adhered to even if we get the full funding requested from Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW). This is true because even if we get the full \$250,000 from CAGW, we will still have to put up our matching \$250,000 and, regardless of funding available, it will be a better program, more capable of being a model for others, if it is inexpensive.

2. The Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation is now being transferred to the GOPAC office. Judy Barrett will keep the books as a part of her job, Stacey Oswald will be the full time Finance Director, Mark Colucci will revert to the conventional GOPAC for the bulk of his time, but will spend such time as necessary in wrapping up the AOW program and in supervising the interns for the new program. There will be no others on the payroll initially. Jeff Eisenach will be the Project Manager. The fee currently paid from GOPAC will be split to come from GOPAC and ALOF in a proportion to be decided later.

3. We will commit now to three workshops. One on July 21, the other two probably in September and October. It is hoped that by October funding is assured to continue the program longer. Over time, it is hoped that GOPAC and ALOF will ease out of the program and have others fund it. GOPAC can make a real contribution by spawning numbers of other successful projects that are taken over by others as soon as they are strong enough to do so. The fund raising arm of ALOF will be important, both to fund ACT now and to be ready to fund future educational projects.

4. We will send one postcard to all site hosts in the next ten days. This will thank them and ask them to host another meeting on July 21. All participants will receive a combination informational letter and request for funds around June 20. Site hosts will receive a final mailing around July 10. This mailing will contain a small inexpensive packet punched so that it can be inserted in the folder they have already received. New site hosts will receive a more complete, but still inexpensive packet. We will keep open our 800 number since the tapes should generate

Exhibit 12

WGC2-01326

site hosts. We will not pay for channel 20 in Washington. Promotion will consist almost entirely in getting in the TV guides and Cable magazines throughout the country.

5. Newt will have full control over the content of anything we do. He will continue to have this control in the future, no matter what additional funding comes in until such time as we make a conscious decision to turn all or part of the program content over to others.

6. The program will be done very inexpensively. All we require is a studio with professional quality lighting and camera work and perhaps room for a minimum of twenty in the audience in order to improve the quality of Newt's presentation and the rest of the program. Costs should be no more than \$15,000 and hopefully a lot less. We will try to get the Family Channel to agree to run the three programs on their network and furnish the studio, cameras and editing in lieu of the \$25,000 previously promised. If so, we might bring these costs to nearly \$0.

7. The present plan is to have a one hour show, about a half hour produced and the other half hour for a call in show similar to Larry King live. The half hour show could be taped in advance, but if we are having call ins, a live show is indicated. We will be checking out cost and practicability of the various options before making a final decision.

8. The format of the program is now set well enough that we don't anticipate the need for regular meetings as we had with ACW. We will have a half day meeting during the week of June 10 to review what we are doing and get suggestions. Invited will be Newt, Joe Gaylord, Eddie Mahe, Jeff Eisenach, Steve Hanser, and the producer. This meeting should be followed later in the week with a one hour meeting including the above plus Mary Matalin, Jim Pinkerton, Ed Rollins, Rick Shelby and others such as Paul Weyrich that may be suggested by Jeff or Newt.

9. A draft budget is attached.

10. This memo is written on the assumption that CAGW will not participate in a major way. If they do, the budget will change and Alan Keys will be a major participant in all decisions with the only caveat that Newt control the content of the programs.

Exhibit 12

FUND RAISING:

Personnel	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$5,000	\$17,500
FICA, etc	\$375	\$375	\$375	\$375	\$375	\$750	\$2,625
Travel	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$3,000
Overhead	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$3,000
Tota.	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$6,750	\$26,125

PRODUCTION:

Personnel	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$35,000
Production	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000		\$5,000
Total	\$6,000	\$11,000	\$6,000	\$11,000	\$11,000	\$10,000	\$55,000

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Accounting	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$500	\$1,750
Rent, etc.	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$4,000	\$14,000
Legal	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$6,000
Overhead	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$4,000	\$14,000
Total	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$9,500	\$35,750

SUMMARY:

Revenue	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$50,000	\$140,000
Fund Raise	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$3,875	\$5,750	\$26,125
Production	\$6,000	\$11,000	\$6,000	\$11,000	\$11,000	\$10,000	\$55,000
Admin	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$5,250	\$9,500	\$35,750
Total Exp	\$15,125	\$20,125	\$15,125	\$20,125	\$20,125	\$25,250	\$116,875
Net	(\$5,125)	(\$125)	\$4,875	(\$125)	(\$125)	\$23,750	\$23,125

WGC1-01338

Exhibit 12

EXHIBIT 13

Eisenach
4838

Key Factors in a House GOP Majority

Key Propositions

1. The fact that 50% of all potential voters are currently outside politics (non-voters) creates the possibility that a new appeal might alter the current balance of political power by bringing in a vast number of new voters.
2. Issues and ideas as articulated and defined by leaders are the keys to historic changes (e.g. the Jeffersonian, and Jacksonian Revolutions, the use of the Republican Party, 1854-60, both Bryan and McKinley in 1896, the Progressive movement, FDR and the New Deal, the Goldwater-Reagan movement).
3. It is possible to articulate a vision of "an America that can be" which is appealing to most Americans, reflects the broad values of a governing conservatism (basic American values, entrepreneurial Free Enterprise and Technological progress), and is very difficult for the Democrats to co-opt because of their ideology and their interest groups.
4. It is more powerful and more effective to develop a reform movement parallel to the official Republican Party because:
 - a. the news media will find it more interesting and cover it more often and more favorably;
 - b. the non-voters who are non-political or anti-political will accept a movement more rapidly than they will accept an established party;
 - c. opinion leaders, activists and resource-holders may find it more exciting and less restricting to participate in a movement rather than to directly join an existing structure;
 - d. the new vision, strategies, structures and doctrine can be implemented by activist Republicans within a movement without the delays and fights inherent in trying to formally shift the existing party structure;
 - e. those party elements which do want to embrace the new vision, etc. can simply do so since a movement is inherently inclusive and open to new supporters.
5. As much as possible, the House Republican Party, the Bush Administration, Senate Republicans, incumbent Republicans across the country, the NRCC, RNC, SRCC and the conservative movement should be briefed on movement developments; conflict within this broad group should be minimized and coordination maximized.

Page 2

6. The objective measurable goal is the maximum growth of news coverage of our vision and ideas, the maximum recruitment of new candidates, voters and resources, and the maximum electoral success in winning seats from the most local office to the White House and then using those victories to implement the values of a governing conservatism and to create the best America that can be.

Key Factors to be Worked On

1. Developing and testing the vision of "the America that can be". ①
2. Communicating our vision. ④
3. Developing a plan for a Caring Humanitarian Reform Movement including strategies, structure and doctrine. ④
4. Recruiting and training movement leaders. ⑤ ⑥
5. Implementing and coordinating the movement plan. ⑧
6. Developing the principles of governing conservatism so any citizen, activist or candidate can take the vision of "the America that can be", apply the principles of governing conservatism and use the technique of "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead" to develop local issues. ⑤
7. Create a core set of key issues that we want to use as strategists through 1992. ②
8. Develop the model of activist groups and launch activist groups on the key issues. ⑤
9. Create the legislative fights and news media coverage necessary to make the key issues real and to energize the key activist groups. ⑦
10. Developing a system to fill the daily headlines so the Left has no vacuum to fill with their agenda. ⑦
11. Planning a 1992 campaign large enough to realistically give House Republicans a chance to elect a speaker. ⑧
12. Developing new model districts for Democratic incumbents (e.g. committee of 100, permanent offices and spokesmen, etc.) ⑥
13. Developing new model campaigns for GOP candidates. ⑥

Exhibit 13

age 3

14. Developing new models of resource gathering for money, voters, etc. (5)

15. Developing new models of communication for the news media, for opinion leaders and for voters (including current non-voters). (5)

16. Developing a new model of candidate attraction, so we have a screening rather than recruiting environment. (4)

17. Engaging in real efforts to change government and the laws so it is clear the movement is serious and not merely rhetoric. (7)

18. Developing a coordinating leading system capable of developing these 17 factors. (8)

Exhibit 13

Key-1

Key Factors in a House experiment

Key Propositions

1. The Fact that 50% of all potential voters are currently outside politics (non-voters) creates the possibility that a new appeal might alter the current balance of political power by bringing in a vast number of new voters.
2. Issues and Ideas are ~~the key to be~~ as articulated and defined by leaders, are the keys to historic changes (e.g., Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Revolutions, the rise of the Republican Party, 1854-60, both Bryan and McKinley in 1896, the Progressive movement, FDR and the New Deal, the Goldwater-Reagan movement).
- 2 1/2. To truly be ~~powerful~~, issues must be important in people's lives.
3. It is possible to ~~create~~ ^{articulate} a vision of "an America that can be" which is appealing to most Americans, reflects the broad values of a governing conservatism (basic American values, entrepreneurial free enterprise and technological progress), and is very difficult for a Democrat.

-MORE

Exhibit 13

Key - 2

to co-opt because of their ideology and their interest groups.

4. IT is more powerful and more effective to develop a ^{reform} movement parallel to the ^{OFFICIAL} Republican Party because:

- a. the News Media will find it more interesting and cover it more often and more favorably
- b. the non-voters who are non-political or anti-political will ~~find it~~ more accept a movement more rapidly than they will accept an established party;
- c. opinion leaders, activists and resource-holders may find it more exciting and less restricting to participate in a movement rather than to directly join an existing structure
- d. the new vision, strategies, structures and doctrine can be implemented by activist Republicans within a movement without the delays and fights inherent in trying to formally shift the existing party structure over.

Exhibit 13

Key-3

e. Those party elements which do want to embrace the new vision, etc. Can simply do so since a movement is inherently inclusive and open to new supporters.

5. ~~The goal~~ As much as possible the House Republican Party, ~~AFCC, RNC, SRCC~~ the Bush Administration, ~~conservative~~ the Senate Republicans, incumbent Republicans across the country, the NRCC, RNC, SRCC and the conservative movement should be briefed on movement developments, conflict ~~should~~ within this broad group should be minimized and coordination maximized

6. the objective measurable goal is the maximum growth of news coverage of our vision and ideas, the maximum recruitment of new candidates, voters and resources, and the maximum electoral success in winning seats from the rust bowl office to the white House and then using those victories to implement the values of a governing conservatism and to create the best America that can be.

- MORE -

Exhibit 13

Key 4

Key Factors to be walked on

1. Developing and Testing the vision of "the America that can be"
2. Communicating our vision
3. Developing a Plan for a Caring Humanitarian Reform Movement including strategies, structure and doctrine
4. Recruiting and Training Movement Leaders
5. Implementing and coordinating the Movement plan
6. Developing the principles of governing conservatism so any citizen, activist or card. date can take the vision of "the America that can be", apply the principles of governing conservatism and use the technique of Listen, Learn, Help, Send to ^{Develop} ~~front~~ local issues
7. Create a core set of Key issues we want to use as strategies for through 1992
8. Develop the model of activist groups and launch activist groups on the Key issues
9. Create the legislative fights and ~~news~~ media coverage ~~done~~ necessary to make the Key issues real and to energize the Key activist groups -
More -

Goffe's
Race
(Leadership)
subset
of 3

DOCTRINE
(IDEAS)

Exhibit 13

Key-5

10. Developing a system to fill the daily headlines so the left has no vacuum to fill with their agenda
11. Planning a 1992 campaign long enough to realistically give House Republicans a chance to elect a speaker
12. Developing new model districts for Democratic incumbents (eg committee of 100, permanent offices and spokesmen etc)
13. Developing new model campaigns for GOP candidates
14. Developing new models of resource gathering for ~~Republicans~~ For money, voters etc.
15. Developing new models of communication both for the news media, for opinion leaders, and for voters (including current non-voters)

—MORE—

Exhibit 13

Key-2

16. Developing a new model of candidate ^{attraction} & recruiting so we have a ~~emphasis~~ of screening rather than recruiting environment
17. Engaging in real efforts to change government and the laws so it is clear the movement is serious and not merely rhetoric
18. Developing a coordinating leading system capable of developing these 17 Factors.

Exhibit 13

EXHIBIT 14

WGC2 06081

GOPAC 3/30/90

CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING W/NEWT GINGRICH

"AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP"

My apologies I'm not use to being up on one of these things. I'm use to being down in the middle of the first row and I really appreciate you coming up front. This also means I've probably now goofed up whatever pattern was evolving in terms of signing in on the sign in sheet. So, if we can send it back around one time if you haven't had this opportunity if you can sign the sign-in sheet. That would help us in just keeping track and then contacting you. I assume all of you know I'm Newt Gingrich and why you're in the Eisenhower lounge and your not in fact missing some fund-raiser or some other planning meeting you thought you were going to. I appreciate very much you coming over on a Friday morning and meeting with us, and what I want to do is outline an opportunity that I think is very important and that I hope that you and your office will decide you want to participate in, and I want to ask Andy Ireland also to explain what he is doing because he frankly is putting together a remarkable leadership effort in his own part to help us with this.

On May 19th we are going to host an American Opportunities Workshop. GOPAC is coordinating it but it will be a nonpartisan effort. We are going to have some elected Democrats. It will be an hour long television program, available by satellite to anybody who has a downlink. So, anybody who has a cable access channel, anyone who has a dish

Exhibit 14

receiver personally, any corporation or school or church or hotel that has a dish receiver—there are over 3 million dish receivers in America now so -- it will be available to anybody for free. Later on we will also make available the hour of video tape for anybody who wants the actual video tape. The hour will include the President of the United States, the Vice President. It will include a terrific black woman state senator in Milwaukee who is a Democrat named Polly Williams who passed an educational choice bill for parents to really dramatically change parents roles in her community. Did it in a united black Democratic Republican Coalition against the Teachers' Union. It will include Keith Butler who is a black Republican elected City Councilmen in Detroit. It will have five uplinks that are live from San Diego, California where Duncan Hunter is going to help us, from Sioux City, Iowa where Fred Grandy is going to be hosting. From Portland, Maine where we're going to have the Governor of Maine and we happen to be holding it on a weekend when the New England Republican Exchange, which is state and local officials from all over New England are gathering in Portland, Maine so we are going to have a terrific event right there and former Governor Lamar Alexander of Tennessee is going to be their speaker so we are hoping that he and Governor Jock McKernan (sp?) sort of co-host coming out of Portland. In Detroit we are going to have Polly Williams and Keith Butler so we'll have a bi-partisan inner-city uplink, and then I'm going to be hosting an event in Atlanta. And our goal is to spend one hour giving you an intellectual framework for the 90's, laying out a way of making a very important, very decisive transition in language. And at the end of that hour to then have an opportunity in your local workshops to say, "boy if these ideas are right, if there moving us in the right direction, then I'd like to be able to get involved, and I'd like to be able to say how does this apply to my school system, how does it apply to my county, how does it apply to

my solid waste problems" and so forth. Now that's a big order, so I want to walk you through a way of thinking for a couple of minutes so you can see how we're trying to move this and what we're trying to accomplish.. And let me start by saying that in a sense we are trying to launch a citizens opportunities movement. This is not a Republican campaign gimmick. It starts with the premise that for America to be successful in the 21st Century we have to have a 1990's which is a decade of reform so that we are in a position that we are concerned – you know we've done this twice before in this century – from 1910 to 1916 you had the Progressive era and all of you studied about it in college and you had a real period that said the big cities aren't working, there's too much urban corruption, we have to adapt government to reflect modern industrial requirements and people really went out and changed things. Again, and it was bipartisan, you had Theodore Roosevelt and you had Woodrow Wilson, you had Leflalet(sp?)- there was a whole pattern of activism. Then in the 1930s in the New Deal you had a wave of about six years from 1930 at least up to 1938-39 where Franklin Roosevelt moved to a pretty dramatic change—the New Deal. What we are suggesting is that when you look at New York or Detroit or Philadelphia. When you look at the problems of the Defense Department and share bureaucracy and red tape. When you look at the fact that America now takes ten years longer to introduce a new drug—I'm sorry it takes years longer – it's ten years total --than France, or Germany or Japan. It is more expensive and more difficult today to introduce new medicine in the United States than it is in most of our industrial competitors. And you just see, all of you just deal with this and think what your offices do everyday in terms of the sheer volume of casework, most of which is unlocking things that should not have been locked up in the first place. So we are staring with the premise that if you really want American to be successful in the 21st Century, we

need as a country a citizens opportunities movement.. And we got to the notion of a movement from a very practical question. All of us in this room are the products of the Buckley, Goldwater, Reagan years of creating the modern conservative movement. If you just think about the extraordinary impact starting with the founding of National Review in the mid 50s, then the rise of conscience of a conservative in Barry Goldwater. Then the 1964 Reagan speech in October on television and then ultimately of course Reagan's victory as President. In a sense that pattern -- which seemed very, very distant and improbable in 1964 when Goldwater was crushed.-- that pattern led to the success of what I would call opposition conservatism. It was opposed to Lyndon Johnson, it as opposed to the Great Society, it was opposed to Jimmy Carter, it was opposed to George McGovern, and don't misunderstand me, these are frankly very good things to oppose. But the essential argument was, "look how dumb the left is." In a sense I would suggested to you the 88 campaign for President was the last culmination of that model. That is, the real key to the Bush victory was we took apart Michael Dukakis and we said, "do you really want a guy who thinks murderers ought to be a practice adaptation on you on weekends? "Do you really want a guy who vetoes the pledge of allegiance, do you really want a guy who looks that dumb in a tank?" I mean, we walk through a series -- and the referendum was a referendum in whether or not the Left could win, it was not a referendum on George Bush. Now we all face a problem which I'm sure many of you thought about. This is the 10th year you've had a Republican in the White House. I mean there does come a point when it is fair for the country to say, "okay you guys win, we believe you intellectually. The Left is dumb, now what?" And I think the now what has to be the transition from an opposition philosophy to a governing philosophy. And when you start making that transition, I think you discover something that is very, very important

for all of us to confront. I'm going to both describe it for a second and then explain it. It is impossible for a Republican President or a Republican Congress to govern successfully within the structure of the Left. And the fact is, if the yardstick used to measure us is their yardstick we will never win. Because they've designed a game that in fact we ran against and so when we go in—let me give you an example—George Bush goes out to Palm Springs and stays with Walter Annenberg.(sp?) George Bush has been talking about a thousand points of light which our friends on the Left giggle about. It's sort of sign that he is inarticulate and weird and what does all that stuff mean. So Bush cares a great deal about the historically black colleges. Barbara Bush got to meet Lou Sullivan by serving on the Board of Morehouse Medical School. This is a truly deep commitment to ensuring that black Americans have a reasonable chance of access to higher education. The President raises \$50 million in one weekend because Walter Annenberg instead of getting a tax increase, writes a check. Now in this city that doesn't count. That is, when they look at the budget of the Bush administration for Black Colleges, they will not score \$50 million at CBO, The Congressional Budget Office will say. "That wasn't federal money, so it doesn't count." Yet, the essence of what Bush is saying is we can liberate a \$6 trillion economy and 260 million people and that is more powerful in changing the world than having 3 million civilian employees in a trillion dollar Federal budget. I recently was on a panel with a leading Democrat who said the country deserves more than a trillion, two hundred billion dollars. And I realized in his mind the Federal government was the country. In his mind you couldn't mix the two. So let me start with this notion: to make the transition from opposing the left to a governing philosophy, we have to establish at the vision level our language, our expectations, our yardsticks so people can measure us against the game we want to play and that requires a very conscious effort

and that is why we are talking about creating a citizen's opportunities movement and it does mean some Democrats are going to be on our side. They are going to say "yeah, that's right" and think about the fact that we've partially won this. I would come into all of you... Barbara Mikulski's speech as reprinted in the Post yesterday morning next to the editorial cartoon—the language values in that speech are almost exactly Reagan and Bush language values. Now I would also point out to you that yesterday afternoon, we gave them an opportunity on whether or not they believe in any of that language. We offered Bob Michel's motion to recommit which I offered but it was Michel's pay as you go amendment. The previous day we had a full half page of how Democrats care about pay as you go. Every Democrat quoted in the Washington Post in favor of pay as you go voted against the pay as you go amendment because while they can sing the language they can't in the end dance the dance. They can't afford to dismantle their beauracratc welfare state. They can't afford to go out and make their allies angry and they can't afford to give up power which in the Democratic party means raising taxes to spend it through government. So we want to develop a citizen's opportunities movement which is open to everybody, it's nonpartisan, it's not part of an immediate campaign because we want to develop the ideas and language of the 90's and it is very important -- most of you young enough that is is not a big problem for you but it is a very big problem for your member. Almost all of us who are currently active grew up in the 70's and 80's politically so we are use to the polarizations of that era. But I keep reminding my friends we've entered the decade of the teenage mutant ninja turtle. And I say that because, you know, common situs is picketing, and all of the variouss fights of the 70s are a long time ago by the standards of America. I mean in a sense what Doonsberry has been doing recently about rock music and what do you listen to and which groups matter is a

symbol of that whole pattern. The 90's if you look forward to the 21st Century so we're standing in 1990 looking forward, then it's incumbent on us to invent a language which explains the next 20 years not to simply assume the set of fights that came out of the last 20 years, and in that sense George Bush's kinder gentler thousand points of light, the conscious changes and style from Reagan-- you know, from very few press conferences and an occasional big speech at night to 1600 press conferences randomly held randomly around the White House -- is a very important symbol to the rest of us-- we must be responsive to the 90s and not try to convince the 90s to vote as though it was the 70s. Now in that setting here;s how we hope to go about it. Our goal is to have a workshop in as many places as possible hosted by as many people as possible, open to everyone. I've encouraged the College Republicans to challenge the College Democrats to co-host them, for example, and to say just flatly, we want every American citizen who is interested in the 21st Century and interested in the future and who wants to develop a better America and who wants to improve their life and their families' life and their neighborhood's life, we want them to feel free to participate and in a lot of places if you get on the cable access channel, of course people can just turn on their cable and get up on Saturday morning and drink coffee and watch it right there. But we really want to make the widest possible range. We already have as of today something on the order of 350 sites that have been identified of people who are going to host things. We are in 49 states, we are missing Hawaii right now but I have talked to Pat Seike(sp?) and a number us have volunteered to go out personally and scout that last sight. We are going to be in all 50 states. The National Review has committed to publishing a special supplement which will be mailed to all of its hundred thousand subscribers and will be used as a workbook that day on the premise that they help launch phase one of the

movement, they oughta help launch phase two and Bill Buckley is very excited about what we're doing and I'm confident we're going to get a column out of Bill encouraging everybody in the country to participate. What we also in order to develop the intellectual framework of assembling or in the process of still assembling a very large team who are working on the idea base. I've talked for example last night with Michael Novak is going to help us in thinking through the language and thinking through the pattern development, Jack Kemp is helping us with the inner city part. We're stealing some things from Jim Pinkerton at the White House who is on our advisory committee, and from Dick Darman. And we are really trying to reach out and really involve a whole range of people in looking at new ideas and new approaches. We've asked Congressman Fred Grandy, Dick Army and Peter Smith to help us and Don Ritter to help us work on the idea side and to look at the scripts and help develop it.

In addition, in order to make sure that we are talking a language which is acceptable, that is for people who suddenly say boy is that weird, we have the largest focus group project ever undertaken by the Republican Party. Bob Teeter and Fred Steeper are in charge of it. Wilma Goldstein who some of you know is working on it and we are having 23 focus group -- as all of you know a focus group is when you get 15 or 20 people in a room and you get them to talk for about 2 hours. We are taping and transcribing that data base so that we will have an enormous data base of what words work and what words don't. And we are really consciously trying to think through--by the way you will be interested to know the people in the focus groups that we are listening to are under 40 non-voters. That is a very important distinction about the 90s. The world has been turned on its head. When I entered

politics in the early 60s, the Republican party was older, registered and one of the fewest possible votes. We prayed for rain. And our theory was go where the ducks are and you try to find the Republican precincts and maximize registration and maximize turnout. And, of course in that era the older voter was the pre-depression Calvin Coolidge/Theodore Roosevelt voter. In the 1990s, we are younger, unregistered, and want a bigger turnout. This is actually a formulation that Joe Gaylord came up that I think is very helpful. I want you to just walk through that for a second. Younger, unregistered and larger turnout. We are now the party that wants the sun shine except nowadays the sun shines and they all go to the lake so maybe we want rain again for different reasons. But we want to have the largest number of people registered, we want to have the largest number of people turning out to vote and we want to organize the young. That is a very different Republican party then the party of even 10 years ago. It is a radically different party and so part of what we are trying to do is focus groups is go to half colleges and half non-college, people who are under 40 who are not registered.

- a. Make sure none of our language alienates them, and
- b. Listen to them describe what they want

and what we learned as of today -- we've had reports on ten focus groups. And what we are learning is fascinating. Let me first tell you the model we're using because I think that that model will help you understand the framework and then I'll tell you how they're reacting to it. They get to see some videotape and the videotape says we have a lot of problems in America and you can summarize those problems as being caused by the bureaucratic welfare state. Now we use that term deliberately. A lot of you know that in the early 1980's we said to maximize the word opportunity as a Republican word and to maximize economic growth

and jobs and again if you read Mikulski or if you read the Democratic Leadership Council you'll see how far we won those fights and then we set out to talk about the liberal welfare state and by 1988 Michael Dukakis wouldn't use the "L" word until late October. So designing language can work. What we've discovered is overwhelmingly the American people believe there is a bureaucratic welfare state, they know exactly what the term welfare refers to and they hate it. There is an enormously deep sense that is not working, that is the line I stood in last month that was very slow and very ineffective, that was the 23 pages of regulations I had to fill out, that was the reason something went wrong when we sent in our Medicare —there is just a general sense that's that system that isn't working. So we think we are going to be able to report to you unequivocally the bureaucratic welfare state is a devastating term that everybody ought to figure to get in their legislation mail with something you are trying to change and that it works and that if we imprint it so that the news media has to use the term, then we have an enormously long term advantage. Second, we are discovering that as part of what makes the bureaucratic welfare state really fail we're talking about permissive attitudes, promoting Johnny when he can't read, letting a criminal out on the weekend when their time isn't up—all the things you would associate collectively as permissive attitudes. And we're discovering two things. First is, people do identify with them and they are very, very angry about it. In every group we talk to them, we say what do you think is most threatened about what makes America work. And every group so far has said values. In fact, we saw one videotape as we video tape all these focus groups and there is one video tape where the guy gave them three options, and it was like listening to a chorus yell values—they were that intense, they were that immediate, there was no question in their mind and we walk them through a series of horror stories. One of which all of you know is

about the man who attacked the actress 11 years ago and he is now promising to kill her if they release him and they're talking about releasing 7 years early for good time although he is openly saying he is going to kill this woman. This is all a true story, it is happening right now in California and the reaction was overwhelmingly—it was summarized by one woman who said, she is sick and tired about being told about good time. She wants prisoners sent to jail for a set sentence and if they act badly they get bad time. So you can add on automatic x-number of years and everything that you do that's wrong we keep adding years. But the sense of anger you can hear in the tapes is unbelievable. People are sick and tired of being told that the government can create a privileged elite, that for values reasons or other reasons get away with things that the rest of us don't get away with. Phil Gramm's line is that in many west Texas courthouses, the only air conditioned room is the jail because the federal judge has mandated that that has to be air conditioned. And then the level of potential anger in terms of cultural values is enormous and we're finding very strong enforcement.

We're then offering an alternative. And we've tried to first of all define the language which explains what isn't working; what I call the structure of the Left, but...and that's the bureaucratic welfare state and permissive attitudes.

We then suggest the following: That there is a triangle of American success and on the videotape we actually right now have 3 lines that come out and then they come together into a triangle. The first side is: ENTREPRENEURIAL FREE ENTERPRISE; and by Entrepreneurial free enterprise...let me give you the three lines first. The first line is entrepreneurial free enterprise. The second line is TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND INNOVATION and the third line is BASIC AMERICAN VALUES and they come together to form a triangle. And with entrepreneurial free enterprise we show pictures like Benjamin

Franklin and Henry Ford and Thomas Edison and our point is both business, in the sense of entrepreneurial, but its also Jonas Salk discovering Polio, its the Wright Brothers inventing the airplane. It's that whole drive that says if you want to go do something go do it, try it out, see if you can make it work. It's William Hornerday(sp?) founding the New York Zoological Society to save the American Buffalo. It's that whole notion that Americans organize and make things happen.

The second line is technological progress and the focus groups have added the word "innovation." And they deeply believe: a) that it's a core.value of the United States and b) that were in danger of losing. And they see the bureaucratic welfare state as part of what's killing them. The notion that the Wright Brothers nowadays would have to fill out forms for four years in order to get grants and permission to try to fly at Kitty Hawk. And so there's a whole underlying pattern of intense desire to re-establish technology. An identification of technology as a source of our prosperity and of our quality of life and in a sense that that suddenly needed to go back and strengthen, that we're in danger of losing it to places like Japan and Germany.

Third, when we asked them what do you mean by Basic American Values? A phrase you may again want to just steal and use because it comes up over and over and over. The most important single American value is honest hard work. I mean to a degree that's amazing, I tried out and having heard the focus groups I did a highschool class in Lithus Springs(sp?) Georgia on Monday and I talked about honest hard work and it was amazing to watch. I mean I just said if any of you think you're gonna compete with the Japanese by cheating on tests, you're crazy. And you're gonna end up unemployed and you're gonna end up complaining and it ain't gonna be the politicians fault, it's cause you've learned how to

cheat and you don't engage in honest hard work. And we have to emphasize honest hard work. And I reuse the phrase about 9 times in 3 minutes and finally a student raised her hand and said, "Well, we don't have a system that rewards honest hard work. We have a system that teaches me to do what the teacher wants so I can get the grade and then just slide through as easily as possible." And the whole class suddenly got involved in this long dialogue about would you change it and how would you get involved. And I mention that because I think if we are the movement...if the citizens opportunities movement is the movement of honest hard work and we say to people, "Look, if you want an answer which basically says that you don't have to solve the problem, go somewhere else because we're not gonna do it. We can't offer you that. If you're willing to get involved with honest hard work we can help you solve a problem but it's gonna be a partnership, it's not gonna be the bureaucratic welfare state doing it for you."

My guess is, and we don't have any kind of statistical data yet, but my guess is that that's probably an 85 to 12 issue. That is 85% of the country, yes, we're with the group that insists on a partnership where honest hard work is the prerequisite. We are not interested in a deal where you don't have to do your share. The implication for that for welfare reform, for prisons, for a whole range for school -- the implication of that kind of qualitative reform rather than quantitative increase is enormous.

We summarize the triangle of American progress with one sentence. Common sense focused on opportunities and success. It's a very radical sentence. Our concept is do we want to spend all of the 90's applying common sense focused on opportunities and success. And let me break it in two because it's a much more radical sentence than it sounds like. Applying common sense is antithetical to modern bureaucracy. Go into any bureaucracy in

America, whether it's your local school board or the defense department or what have you and you walk around and you said all right, I found five ways to improve what you're doing. Four of them will be against the rules, the fifth one they'll refer to committee. If you think I exaggerate, go try it somewhere. So the concept of what used to be the hallmark of America, without pragmatism...a William James phrase...the concept of applying common sense and making things work is by definition what a bureaucracy is designed to stop. Bureaucracies are designed to say to you, do it this way. And so the whole notion of applying common sense is much more fundamental than people think. The second half of the sentence is equally different. Focusing on opportunities and success is antithetical to the world of permissive attitudes. Remember, permissive attitude and the beauracatic welfare state focus on what's wrong. You get 40 articles about people who are trapped in the inner city. You get articles about people who can't find housing. You get articles about people who can't get a decent job. I mean, you can have 3 percent unemployment and they'll find the two people left. And they'll be the stories. It's very hard, and you can go out and test this by watching TV or by looking in your newspaper, it's very hard to get the article about the 27 year old black male who made it out of the ghetto and who is now a success. Yet I would argue that that is the most important story. Not so you feel good, but to send two signals. To send a signal to 9 year olds in the ghetto, yes you can make it and then to send the message here are the 5 or 6 behaviors that matter. What were the lessons of getting out of the ghetto? What habits did you have to acquire? What steps did you have to take? Now in the 19th century we had a much more activist attitude of saying, Let's report on a success so other people can learn how to orient their behavior and how to change their lives and how to shape their values.

Let me give you...there's just 2 examples to think about: the sports pages are the last holdout of 19th century reporting. The sports pages focus on winners, they have interviews with champions. Can you imagine if the sports page was written like the front page. None of the final 4 teams would make the sports page. I mean they're winning so they're not a story. But there would be this terrific interview with the most losing basketball coach in America. And they'd ask questions like, Do you think we oughta have a set aside program so that your teams is guaranteed at least 4 victories a year for morale purposes. Or, Should the rules be changed some so that you can have a chance to win. Should we allow you to get 4 point per shot when you guys finally get the ball in the basket. Or, How traumatic has it been for your family trying to live through this kind of a depressing experience. (laughter) You know and you have this long elaborate sad story...and if you think I exaggerate go and clip any newspaper for a couple of days and look at the tone and language of the front page and then look at the tone and language of the sports page.

Or I'll give you a different test. I would assert, and measure this against your own experience, I would assert that if Thomas Edison had written I mean if Thomas Edison had invented the electric light in the age of the welfare state, that it would have been reported in a story which Dan Rather would have begun with the following...The Candlemaking Industry Was Threatened Today. (laughter) And Ralph Nader would issue a report which points out that electricity kills. And that capitalist companies should not be allowed to rip off the poor by selling them electric lights; since that might in fact kill them. And again, if you think I'm exaggerating, look at what we do with medicine as compared to Germany and Japan and France. We are increasingly so protective that we are blocking people from getting the medical protection they could get because the government protection is more overwhelming

than the medical protection. So you die while waiting for the medicine to be available which would help you not die because we don't want to run the risk that you might die. And if you think I'm exaggerating, go look at the reports. Go look at how we're structured.

So let me summarize for a second, what you will get as the core of this hour on television is the bureaucratic welfare state and permissive attitudes, the human damage they are doing. The fact that real people in real situations are being crippled by this structure. The 13 year old boy in New York got gasoline doused him and he was set afire. The number of children who are sent to schools that we know statistically will not teach them. The problem isn't the children, the problem is the schools. If you have a school in which 80% of the kids are dropping out before they graduate...if this was a private company you'd close it. Can you imagine going to a McDonald's where 80% didn't get the Egg McMuffin. And so there's a systems problem here. Then we're gonna spend most of the time, we're not gonna spend frankly more than about 8 minutes or 10 minutes of the entire show, outlining what's wrong. The rest of the show is gonna be devoted to a systematic outline of how the triangle of American success works, why it's different components work, how to apply common sense focused on success and opportunities and a series of winners. I mean people who have in fact been doing this for real in their community. Part of the reason we came up with the concept of the triangle, was to establish the notion that any point inside that triangle is better than the beauracatic welfare state and permissive attitudes. Now that means you can decentralize America because you can liberate and empower local government and local communities and say to them, Virtually any experiment in healthcare is gonna be better than what we're currently doing. Virtually any experiment in education is gonna be better than an 80% dropout rate. As long as you're inside this triangle, as long as you're applying honest hard

work and you're engaged in entrepreneurial free enterprise, basic American values and technological progress, you're probably making the right experiment. And that the way to invent 21st century America is not to have big national conferences in Washington that come up with the one right idea, it is to liberate the American people so that there are several thousand experiments and then we're all gonna copy the ones that work. I walked through this model and testimony yesterday for the Public Work Committee on Infrastructure and much to my delight was told by a member of the Committee that MIT had testified last week that they had found a way to do the equivalent of secondary treatment for wastewater for 5% of the current cost, but it's illegal. EPA will not approve the MIT discovery and it make take an amendment to a bill in the Congress to change the federal law which blocks us from using the technology which could provide clean water at 5% of the current cost. Now a society which does that to itself is dumb and is unnecessarily increasing the human cost of living in America. Our goal will be to lay out this framework, then to have a workbook, and here is an example of one of the workbooks, a workbook which is available and to have the National Review Special Supplement and then to enable the local workshop leaders basically to say, All right what are we doing? How do we apply this to our community? How do we apply this to our neighborhood? It is our guess that...our current planning is that we will have a meeting in Washington probably in June, for anybody who wants to come to it, to assess the workshops, that we will almost certainly have one and maybe two more nationally televised workshops before the end of the year. In which again, by that stage we'll be sort of like the home video film thing, we'll have people sending in their entries, the 10 or 15 most interesting positive applications around the country will be the ones that make the next workshop. So we'll build a momentum of positive language. It is our goal to define our

position as a caring humanitarian reform party applying the triangle of American success and applying common sense focused on success and opportunities to explain in general terms for the whole fall campaign, and again some Democrats will pick up the language and this is open to everybody, this is a free country...we think on balance it is vastly more advantageous to us than it is to the Left since they are the party of big city machines, they are the party of the unions, they're much more tied to the bureaucratic welfare state. But it's our goal to be able from May 19th on, to begin to develop all this. In order to have this work, what we hope you will consider doing is recognize that this is an opportunity to change language, it is an opportunity to organize volunteers at a very low cost activity which changes their pattern and their habit and their language and gives them a new set of things to do and give them a connection to the bigger world. A school board member who suddenly says, gee, there are people all over the country who are trying out these ideas, is a lot more bold and a lot more committed and a lot more risk taking than a school board member who thinks their isolated and nobody else thinks like they do. So we want to network people together and give them a sense that they are part of a movement of change. In addition we think that combining this hour plus the workshop plus the workbook plus the supplement is gonna give your volunteer activist a new level of skill and a new level of ability to solve local problems so that in a sense, we see politics as recruiting 55,000 government officials at all levels so that all of them are playing their fair share. Not simply recruiting school board members to watch a speech by the Secretary of Education where he solves the problem. But instead to liberate and empower people at all levels of government and frankly at all levels of voluntary activity.

There are 2 steps to it. On April 26th we will have a Press Conference on as many sites as possible around the country. We'd love to help your help and your offices' help in

systematically reaching out and trying to find us some folks back home who'd be willing to hold a Press Conference that day saying, Yes we are going to have a workshop, yes we want to invite people to come to it. The purpose of that is twofold. It is to prove organizationally to the National Press that this is a large enough effort that they have to cover it and it is to begin to create a sense of interest locally because local reporters are covering the local event which has a national implication and that then gives the Press Conference participants a legitimacy to go out and go on talk radio and go to civic clubs and go to local schools and be active as a civic organizer explaining this new language and these new ideas and trying to maximize the number of people who get involved. And then as I said earlier on May 19th at 10:00 in the East, 9:00 central time, 10:00 in the mountains, 9:00 pacific time, we will have a broadcast which will be available for anybody who wants to participate. So we think we're offering a pretty good package.

One of the members who has really gotten involved in doing this is Andy Ireland and I would like to ask Andy to just tell you what he is doing in Florida because he has made ...Andy has purposely set out having left the party of the bureaucratic welfare state and permissive attitudes and joined the party that shares his basic beliefs. Andy has now encouraged an amazing number of Democrats to follow him. I had the privilege of flying down there to speak at an event and as I got off the plane they said, we want you to meet the swing vote on the county commission who in honor of your visit is switching parties. They then switched from the Democrat majority to a Republican majority in the county commission in its biggest county and I told him I would be glad to come back on a regular basis if they would promise this kind of ...it was the most interest gift I'd gotten this year. And he is doing an amazing job at helping transform central Florida from Democratic to the Republican

party and he understands I think as well as any member the kind of potential impact you could make with these kind of ideas. So I thought I'd get Andy up here to explain exactly what he's doing organizationally and then I'll take questions and the whole bit. Andy come on up. [End of side 1]

[Side 2]...Andy speaking:

Thank you Newt and I came to this meeting with enthusiasm. I have even more enthusiasm after listening to Newt and I want to give you kind of sense of the American Opportunity Workshop from my point of view. I'm clearly excited about the opportunity in committing not only my time but my staff's time and literally hiring a member on my campaign staff to make all of this work. I'm convinced that it is really an exciting opportunity to get the message that Newt has just described across to the entire United States. This excitement, of course, means one of two things. Either Andy's crazy or he's really on to something. I don't think I'm crazy. I think that we have a real opportunity with this program on May 19 and indeed beyond that for anyone who wants to translate the frustration of the public in the bureaucratic inefficiency that's going on in America translate that bureaucratic inefficiency that red tape into votes, into support whether it's at the local level or in Congress or on into 1992 in the Presidential race. I got involved not just because Newt's a good guy. He is a good guy.

Not just because Newt can explain and get across to people the things that are inside of each of us and it is remarkable how he does that. He described how he did it in one county in central Florida. But I got involved because I think that it will work and it will work for all of us and it is the kind of thing that capsulates what Newt is talking to and the only thing that would be better than doing this is be able to clone Newt and all that technology in his triangle

has never been able to do that. But let me tell you I heard Newt talk about this at the embryo stage of this event and conspired with Jean Moran on my staff and I said well I'm going to talk to a little Chamber of Commerce group in Manatee County, Florida and I'll just at the end of my talk I'll throw this open. Well, I, you know, said something about this workshop as best as I could describe it at that point was going to happen and I couldn't shut the meeting down. The people wanted to submit ideas and plans and what not. It turned them on. I thought well, focus group number one on Andy's part. Before I get carried away, I'll just try it again. Tried it again in another on a different circumstance, different kind of people in my district, same reaction. It just turned them on. The President of Wellcraft Boats - I think many of you have seen a Wellcraft boat. They are made and shipped all over the United States. He came unglued. He had a letter back up here before I could back up here and it's been bugging our office how do I set it up, what do I do? So I'm convinced that it will work and it will do the kind of things that Newt describes. Of this person I have hired to help out in the state is Jill Herndon if you'll wave back there you all can meet and she's been on the trail here for a little while and anything that she can do to help and later on we've got a little hand out with her name and number on it so in between all the other information you have if you want to check with Jill and see how some of our activity is progressing that might help you certainly give her a call. Her job is to promote the workshop not only in my district but around the state of Florida because we want to help out in that regard. She is going to assist leaders that we identify in developing agendas for their workshops, help them in identifying local stories in their communities and help them get the word out in anticipation of the May 19th event. We've targeted 15 communities in the state of Florida. Several of them, of course, in my district but the others are a little outreach

program to help out to get into the media markets, to showcase in those local stories and we are going to be cross pollenizing from everything that we've learned and learn down there to make that a success. We will making our campaign mailing lists available to people in all those areas and leaders that we identify. We'll talk to other congressmen in such that we hope the list to get involved where there is an area were there isn't a Republican congressman we will be reaching into there with other lists to help the people generate the attendance, the enthusiasm to make it all go. So what will we achieve by all of this. Of course, we'll focus the attention of each local community and those individuals on the fact that the solutions as Newt has so well explained of the last 25 or 30 years the liberal solutions, the welfare state solutions will focus dramatically on the fact that those solutions don't work. In doing so will generate names of people, addresses, telephone numbers of people that share that belief and by their energy we know that we will be able to count on a vast majority of those to help out as we go along. So as we get this message out we'll be generating a data bank, certainly it will help in the campaign, it will help across the state of Florida. It will help across the nation to mobilize the people that feel that way. One of the things that we anticipate beyond that so you can see that there are their many ways to do this, I feel very strongly about the side of the triangle all sides of the triangle that Newt's talking about, but also particularly the entrepreneurial small business side of that triangle. And as you can see very quickly the opportunity concept that will be coming out in this workshop lends it to bridging into generating from those that participate that are involved in small business setting up organizations of small business men who for the most part all are oriented in our direction. Have them set up and carry this forward into the campaign and beyond. Obviously, whatever your member is particularly interested in it certainly fits into that triangle whether its small

business, whether it's technology, whether it's simply the values. It can be done and the workshop is to me the opening gun that starts that campaign off. Certainly we'll share anything that we're doing on the entrepreneurial side with any of you that want to follow up on it. The main thing that I would say and the final thing is this is an outstanding opportunity for your member to be involved. The format is there, your members are talking about this thing and gives the background, the terminology to explain what we're all about and make this great change to an opportunity society that we need. Anything that I can do, that Jill can do, Jean Moran, anyone on our staff to help you to make this thing work, we're ready to go and if she can't find it, the TV and the satellite come to Florida because we are going to cover the state. Thank you.

GINGRICH: Thank you Andy very much. Let me make only two last points. First, if you have not gotten a copy of Jim Pinkerton's speech. Pinkerton is the chief long-range planner of the White House. It is called the New Paradigm. I read it in the Record a couple of weeks ago but you can also get it from his office. I think it is a very serious effort to explain where George Bush is going and is a very helpful document to help you think of your own members legislative initiatives and where you want to go and what your trying to do. Now it's reinforced, by, if you look at the President's budget. If you read page 3 which is the President's one page statement and pages 171 to 180 where Darman really lays out the scale of experimentation in America and welfare the environment, transportation, education, healthcare. It is a remarkable nine pages. Lastly I was going to make the point one of the reasons we are reaching out and we really urge people to be nonpartisan and be wide open. But we have two reasons. First, there are a lot of former Democrats. Andy Ireland, Ronald

Reagan, Phil Gramm, Jean Kirkpatrick, Connie Mack, you go down the list, a surprising list of people who looked at both sides and decided we were right. That we were more open, we were moving in the right direction, but second, most young people under 40 are not politicized. The minute you politicize this and you make it narrow and you make it partisan. You lose them. They may be very interested as citizens in turning the 90's into a decade of reform so that their country is better off and they are better off. There not particularly interested in getting in a partisan fight. So that the best of all politics for the 90's may be to reach out to everyone and be willing to win the argument of ideas. Based straight up and down on whose ideas are best rather than a narrower partisanship. I know that some of you find that coming from me given my reputation unusual but I think you've got to respond analytically to the reality of the world your in. The country needs reform, the country deserves a citizen's opportunities movement and in order to have a true citizen's opportunities movement we have to welcome all citizens into the process which is how we're trying to approach this and we are very seriously working with several Democrats who have decided they share our values and therefore part of the broad coalition that we represent. Let me throw it open to questions and simply ask if you would use that microphone because they are taping this. This will become the GOPAC tape for this month which goes out to about 5,000 elected officials around the country and state legislators and county officials. So anybody who has any questions on how to implement this or what it's about, or why we are doing it. Feel free, you know, to ask a question and if we managed to answer it all, I won't.

Go ahead. If anybody else has one, go ahead and line up that will save time and we will get this done quickly.

Question Man: Congressman, It is on?

I don't know. I assume its on? Is it on?

Newt. He says it's on. He's listening through some magic head phone.

Man: Okay. When you speak about workshop I think of a smaller forum which I can see how this can work, but as your speaking also think of our possibility having a larger group, having a large group of individuals say to a civic center. We have a big civic center. Do you see the prospects of that working. Having a large group do it and then have some interaction that way or do you have a more focused way in plan.

Gingrich. No, I think my advise will be if you get above probably twenty, then you start thinking about breakout sessions. Then you either break out based on geography or topic. That is you say everybody who lives in this particular neighborhood go over here, or you decide you know, you can do it both ways. You can have a matrix and say everybody who cares about how this applies to education, you're going to meet in that corner of the room. It's really important I think that once you get beyond the televised section which by definition . We are trying to make the televised section interact with five uplinks. We are working pretty hard at this. But once you get beyond the televised section it is important that we are empowering citizens to be liberated that we want the citizens to be involved, and I don't think you can get very involved in groups of much more than about 20, in fact the ideal model is probably 12-15. But you want settings where so if you decided that you are going to pull together a lot of people in one place then you ought to bring together probably a week earlier a lot of workshop leaders and designate some leaders and say all right now when we get done seeing the TV part and having a brief, you know, rally kind of the effect to build a motion

now let's break out into our discussion groups and then take people off into --and let people choose what discussion they want to go to. But I really think that's a very important component of this is getting people to talk it out and think it out and interact with each other and get into the habit of saying yeah this is for me to use and do this is just not for me to applaud somebody else using and doing. Any other questions or concerns you might have or any recommendations you might have for what we ought to do differently or do better.... yes Ma'am.

Woman: I'd like to ask, what kind of activities do you foresee coming out of the teleconferences?

GINGRICH: Well I see a lot of kind of activities. Some of them have already begun to be evolved on their own. In Colorado for example, Terry Consodin(sp?) is putting several items on the ballot as his initiative because that's what he wants to do. In a number of places we would foresee voluntary groups forming and getting together to pursue their particular approach. One of the things we are going to recommend is that people really look at a dramatic increase in recycling but that they try wherever possible to make it profitable. That recycling ought to be designed in such a way that it is privatized as much as possible and involved. An experiment I'm running, I'm going to do on my own to give you an idea of breaking out of the system, I'm very concerned about literacy and I've heard all these talks about you have kids who come through Headstart they just start to learn and then they fall off. Around 2nd or 3rd grade you begin to lose them and people say I wish we had some incentive. We know that if you go back home and your parents care and your middle class you are likely to read, but if you go home and it is a single head of household and you're in a household that isn't used to reading we don't know how to give you an incentive. Well,

applying the triangle, I mean one of powerful incentives in America for everybody else is money and all of you know this because you go through all sorts of negotiations about the salary you're paid and what you do next and somebody comes along and offers you twice the salary and suddenly you have the incentive to consider a new job. Okay. So this summer I'm taking some of my speech money and we're setting up what we're calling Earning by Learning, and were simply going to pay \$2.00 a book to third graders for every book they read this summer and we're taking a public housing area that has kids that probably aren't going to learn how to read if left to themselves. And we will report back at the end of the summer if it worked but for a surprisingly small amount of money I suddenly have several professors and a bunch of teachers and all sorts of folks excited about this experiment. Our theory is simple, a kid shows once a week, they want to buy a bicycle. Read eighty books. And let's keep giving you cash as long as you read real books and as long as an adult can take that book and ask you questions and conclude you read it and we're going to work the whole summer that way and I'm not arguing that that's the best way to solve the problem. I'm giving you that, I didn't go to get a government grant, I haven't set up some massive program. I just went off on my own. I mean the thousand points of light is inherently correct in the sense that the Smithsonian Institution was a private grant, the American Museum of Natural History in New York is a private operation, the Atlanta Zoo has been privatized, it's still city property but it is under contract and there are many ways to solve these problems and our goal in phase 1 is basically to say, gee if these principals are correct, what do you think you ought to do and you can do it as a private citizen, you can do it as a neighborhood group, you can do it as an activity oriented group or you can do it in terms maybe experiments that your local government decides to undertake. And, you can also as I

challenged the county commissioners last week, you can decide that one of your assignments is to come back to Congress and say if this critique of the bureaucratic welfare state is right and this critique of permissive attitudes is right and if this model of the triangle of American success in applying common sense focused on success in opportunity is right, fine. Then you guys in Congress better change the following twelve laws. And I challenged the county commissioners that said come in here with a legislative agenda of de-bureaucratization. Tell us what we ought to repeal. I raised this issue yesterday on the Infrastructure hearing and one of the members, Basco of California raised it, is a Democrat and he said the State Highway people last week what percent of their federal money is eaten up in beauracracy, the answer was 25 percent. Now we're talking about a \$125 billion program in the 90's Twenty five percent going up in paper rather than being built in highways would be \$30 billion It gets to be real money after awhile. So I said fine. Why don't you guys hold a hearing and challenge the State Highway Commissioners to tell you how to debeauracratize the program. Now we're starting a whole new layer of debate and argument on our terms about our values recruiting allies in the country to help us to decentralize America. And so I think all of those layers anything in that zone could happen and it could make a difference. Okay.

We'll let me say I am very excited to work with you and I think all of you have the GOPAC material and you have the 800 number. Anybody back home who wants more information they can just call that number for free. We have operators over there. GOPAC is right here in town and you can call. We do want to coordinate. Andy's office is doing a fabulous job and if you want to coordinate with them, they really are a marvel on how to get this thing done. Thank you very much for spending the time this morning.

EXHIBIT 15

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GOPAC FOCUS GROUPS

ANALYSIS

Prepared for:

GOPAC

Prepared by:

**Market Strategies, Inc.
July 10, 1990**

Exhibit 15

RESEARCH DESIGN

Purpose

This research project is part of an overall effort to build a new governing majority in the United States formed around conservative principles. Historically, building a new majority has involved three essential tasks: activating a group of non-participating citizens to support an existing party (or form a new party), constructing a theory or explanation of what is right and wrong in society with which the non-participating citizens agree, and developing the right language (political rhetoric) to communicate that theory to the non-participating citizens. This project is the first of several research projects to be sponsored by GOPAC to help achieve these three tasks in this decade.

In this project a particular theory is tested for its potential to mobilize a new governing majority. The theory cites government bureaucracy and liberal social engineering as the two primary causes of what is wrong in our country or, at least, as the primary obstacles to solving the country's leading problems. Its explanation of what is good in our country focuses on three factors: Americans' enthusiasm for new technologies to solve problems, free enterprise as the best system to free people to apply their ideas to problems, and the basic values and common sense of the American people which guide them in their solutions to problems. The project also tested a possible language to communicate the theory. The theory's explanation of what is wrong in society was put in terms of the "the bureaucratic welfare state" and the "values of the left." The theory's explanation of what is good in society was put in terms of "technological progress," "entrepreneurial free enterprise," and "basic American values" which were summarized as "the Triangle of American Success."

The project assumed that the theory and language were effective to frame the overall debate with elite populations and could be used with them provided that the general population did not have a negative reaction. As a minimum result, the project was to determine if target voters found anything in the theory or language that was so objectionable that its use with elite populations would run the risk of alienating the general population.

The project also assumed that the theory and language would not be totally accepted by the target voters in its initial formulations. The initial theory and language were meant to serve as a means to stimulate people's thoughts about the country and reveal what theory

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and language people used to explain what is right and wrong with society. Two major goals of the project were to ascertain if there were any elements in the theory with which the people already agreed and what revisions could be made to increase agreement while preserving the essential conservatism of the theory. Consequently, the project anticipated the need for testing revisions in both the theory and the language to communicate it.

The potential for a new governing majority exists because of the large and growing numbers of non-participating citizens in our political system. Turnout in presidential elections is down to 50 percent and turnout in off-year congressional elections has declined to 36 percent. Activating or "mobilizing" the country's non-voters partly involves locating or defining them demographically. In the past, non-participating citizens were mobilized in terms of property ownership (non-property owners by the Jacksonian Democrats), race (blacks first by the Radical Republicans and then by the New Deal Democrats), gender (women by the Republicans of the 1920's), and religion (Catholic immigrants by the New Deal Democrats).

In today's politics, age and education are the primary definers of who votes. Younger voters and less educated voters regardless of their other characteristics comprise most of the nation's non-voters. In the 1988 Presidential Election, 61 percent of the non-voters were under 40 years old. (Under 40 year olds comprised 48 percent of the voting age population in 1988.) Less than one-half of the under 40 years old reported voting in 1988 compared to two-thirds of the voters over 40. The regular decline in turnout in off-year congressional elections also happens more with the younger voters. Less than 25 percent of the under 30 year olds and only 35 percent of the 30 to 39 year olds vote in these elections.

Age clearly acts as a life cycle factor rather than a generational one. Voting increases almost a percentage point a year between the age of 20 and the peak voting years of the mid-sixties. (There is no clear demarcation point along the age continuum at which participation suddenly rises.) Therefore, the goal for a new majority strategy, in an important sense, is to hasten political maturation. As age increases, eligible voters learn more about the relevance of government and politics to their personal lives and to their concerns about the well-being of the nation as a whole. One consequence of this normal maturation is increased voting. Mobilizing younger voters into a new governing majority will entail the difficult task of "teaching" them about the importance of politics and government before they would normally acquire this belief.

Consequently, a major premise for the research project is that younger citizens are the

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right target group for a new majority strategy and that a political theory and language needs to be effective with them if it is to be effective at all. Supporting this premise is an additional opportunity (to their not voting now) about younger voters - they are already predisposed to vote Republican. National surveys for the past several years have repeatedly measured Republican pluralities below the age of 30 and an even partisan balance between the ages of 30 and 40. At the current pace of becoming regular voters, the Republicans will not receive the full force of this advantage for another 10 to 15 years (assuming their partisan leanings do not switch). A successful theory and language would mobilize this support now.

Finally, the project was conceived as *basic research* of political attitudes. It focuses on the target voters' general theories of government and society. It does not test legislative proposals or campaign themes. Instead, this first project tests a theory and its premises, while allowing the target voters the opportunity to offer revisions and alternatives, upon which legislative proposals and campaign themes can be effectively built at a later stage.

Research Design in-brief

Eighteen focus groups were held in nine locations located in eight states between March 13 and April 11, 1990. The nine locations were: suburban Chicago, suburban Detroit, rural southeastern Ohio, suburban Atlanta, Little Rock, Arkansas, suburban Denver, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and the Silicon Valley and the Los Angeles Basin, California. Two groups were held at each location. There were eight to fourteen people in each group. A total of 180 people participated in the project. Participants in the groups were between the ages of 21 and 39 and were not strong identifiers with either the Republican or Democratic parties. With their much lower than average probability of voting and their lack of a strong party identification, they represent the voter group that most likely can be mobilized into a new political coalition.

A structured discussion outline was used by the moderators which went through two substantial revisions. The three versions of the discussion outline are in the Appendix. During the discussions prepared messages were presented to the groups in two forms: video tapes and written excerpts from news stories. In total, five video spots and 34 news stories were used in the project. The news stories were divided evenly between personal examples of failures and successes in American society. The purpose of these news stories was to

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learn if the target voters perceived the same underlying themes in the stories as did the conservative theory of them tested in this project. The videos presented a conservative explanation of failure and success in America for the target voters to evaluate. The news stories and the videos were rated by the participants on paper and pencil rating scales and then discussed in open-ended conversations directed by the moderators. The scripts for the videos, the news story excerpts, and the rating scales are in the Appendix.

Recruitment and Final Group Compositions

U.S. citizens under 40 years old and without strong attachments to either the Republican or Democratic parties was the essential universe for the project. The standard University of Michigan National Election Study (NES) party identification measure was used to screen out strong partisans. Strong partisans have been shown to have defection rates usually no higher than 15 percent, indicating a politically insignificant potential for persuasion. Other partisans on the NES party scale have been shown to have defection rates from 30 percent to over 50 percent. Consequently, only "weak" and "independent" Republicans and Democrats were recruited as well as "pure" independents. Quotas were not set on these various types of partisans.

The goal was to have 10 to 12 people in two groups at each of the nine locations. This is the desired group size to hear a variety of opinions and have time for each person to adequately express their opinions on the subjects of most interest to them in the discussion outline. To allow for "no-shows", 30 people were recruited at each location. The sizes of the attending groups ranged from eight to fourteen people and averaged 10 people per group.

Recruitment to the groups was done by telephone by the local focus group services under subcontract to Market Strategies, Inc. (MSI). The local services used a formal recruitment questionnaire written by MSI. Participants were paid incentives ranging from \$30 to \$35 to attend the groups.

The two groups at each location were segregated by education: one group consisting of voters with 2 years or less of college training and a second group consisting of voters with more than 2 years of college training. This segregation was done simply to make the participants feel more at ease in the discussions by placing them with their educational peers. The discussion outlines and paper and pencil tests were exactly the same for both groups.

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Several types of people were excluded from the groups because of their sophisticated or special opinion formation experience, as noted below. In addition, 18 to 20 year olds were also excluded. While this age group is of enormous interest to both political parties (and to this project), past experience has shown that they tend to be very hesitant to volunteer political opinions in discussions with people not in their age group.

Recruitment Requirements

TARGET VOTER REQUIREMENTS

21 to 39 years old

No strong identification with either the Republican or Democratic parties

REPRESENTATIVENESS REQUIREMENTS

Balanced by men and women (no more than 55 percent of one gender in a group)

Balanced by education at each location (one-half of the participants with 2 years or less of college and one-half of the participants with more than 2 years of college), and no more than two high school dropouts in the less educated group

Even distribution within the 21 to 39 year old age range at each location

EXCLUSION OF VOTERS WITH SOPHISTICATED OR SPECIAL OPINIONS

No elected officials

No social studies or government teachers

No people with post graduate degrees e.g. MA, MBA, LLD, PhD, MD

No people who have attended a focus group in the past 6 months
(exclusion of people on focus group panels)

In addition, minorities were purposively recruited for the groups in the Los Angeles Basin (one Hispanic and one black desired in each group), suburban Atlanta (one black desired in each group), and the Silicon Valley (one Oriental desired in each group).

The 180 people who did participate in the groups were evenly balanced by party: 51 Republicans, 52 Democrats, 26 independents who leaned Republican, 21 independents who leaned Democrat, and 30 "pure" independents. Their collapsed distribution of 43 percent Republican or lean Republican to 41 percent Democrat or lean Democrat is only a few percentage points different (in a Democratic direction) from national survey estimates for

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under 40 year old eligible voters. Ninety-four women, 83 men, 81 people with two years or less of college, and 98 people with more than two years of college (60 college graduates) participated in the 18 groups. (Contrary to the recruitment criteria, eight people were 40 years old and 5 people had M.A. degrees.) The complete political and demographic distributions of the participants, in total and by the nine locations, are in the Appendix.

While the recruitment for the focus groups followed specific quotas, this is not a probability sample of voters with a known sampling error. There is no scientific way to measure the probability of how representative these groups are of the target population of under 40 year olds. Consequently, the findings of this research need to be verified in studies using probability samples of the target population. (Two findings were tested in national RNC polls, and the polls confirmed the focus group results. One finding is in regard to a perceived weakening of basic values in American society as a cause of the U.S.'s economic competitiveness problem and the effectiveness of emphasizing the American work ethic, in particular, as a solution. The groups and the survey both indicate that the public considers these factors very important to the U.S.'s world trade problems. The second is in regard to using the statement "\$1.2 trillion is enough" as a tactical argument in the tax-budget debate. The groups and the survey are both negative on its utility as effective rhetoric.)

Locations of Focus Groups

The selection of locations for the groups was first guided by electoral relevance: selecting states important in presidential and congressional elections and places within states important to winning in the state, either in presidential elections or in statewide elections. National regional coverage and type of place were the second concerns. The Industrial Midwest, the Deep South, the Farm States, the Mountain States, and the Pacific Coast are all represented in these eighteen groups. (The Northeast is not covered mostly because satisfying other considerations used up the number of groups for the first phase of this research.) The project also wanted to represent rural and less affluent areas in addition to major population centers in case there was any variation of opinions by suburban-rural differences. The selections of southeastern Ohio, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota were made partly for this reason.

The groups were purposively held in eight of the states which are most critical for the

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Republican presidential coalition. In addition, these states vote Democratic in congressional elections while voting Republican in presidential elections. In 1988, they delivered a 53 percent majority for George Bush while electing 79 Democrats and 48 Republicans to the U.S. House of Representatives. The goal of driving the national Republican realignment down to the local level would involve voters in these states. Combined, they will represent an estimated 143 electoral votes and 127 U.S. House seats in 1992 (the same as in the 1980's). In addition to their size, they all are swing or "battleground" states and are needed in a minimum winning Republican presidential coalition. Colorado and South Dakota are sometimes considered core Republican states, but they and several other states in their region underperformed for George Bush in 1988. Their reduction to the status of national battleground states was an important consideration in their inclusion in the project.

Both the generic area of residence of the participants and the location of the focus group facility to which they traveled are listed below. The location of the focus group facility is not meant to describe a residency requirement for the participants. Participants came from surrounding communities, generally within a one-half hour drive of the facility. For example, participants in the Los Angeles Basin groups came from Irvine, Anaheim, Cypress, Diamond Bar, Huntington Beach, Newport Beach, Garden Grove, and Fountain Valley. The focus group facility was located in Irvine.

Locations of Focus Groups

MIDWEST

Suburban Chicago (northern Cook County): Chicago, Illinois
 Suburban Detroit (Macomb County): St. Clair Shores, Michigan
 Rural Southeastern Ohio: St. Clairsville, Ohio

SOUTH

Suburban Atlanta (Clayton County): Morrow, Georgia
 Little Rock: Little Rock, Arkansas

FARM/MOUNTAIN

Suburban Denver (Arapahoe and Jefferson counties): Denver, Colorado
 Sioux Falls: Sioux Falls, South Dakota

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PACIFIC COAST

Silicon Valley: Sunnyvale, California
 Los Angeles Basin: Irvine, California

Schedule and Moderators

Rather than conduct all the groups at once, they were divided into three waves with one week pauses between the first and second waves and between the second and third waves. The pauses allowed for major revisions to the discussion outline (which was done) and a general strengthening of the content of the discussion outline before most of the project's resources were spent. The pauses also served the exploratory and basic research objectives well. What wasn't working could be deleted; what was working could be probed further; and what had not been originally included could be added.

The project's two moderators and the project's principal investigator all moderated groups in the first wave. Using three moderators in the first wave helped strengthen both the content and execution of the discussion outline in the subsequent groups. Moreover, by using two moderators for the subsequent groups, the findings of the project are less subject to moderator bias compared to typical focus group investigations done with one moderator.

Schedule, Location, and Moderators**WEEK ONE****PROJECT DESIGN AND BRIEFING MEETING**

Washington, D.C.
 March 2, 1990

WEEK TWO**FOCUS GROUPS: THREE LOCATIONS, SIX GROUPS**

Suburban Detroit, Michigan
 March 13, 1990
 Moderator: Fred Steeper

Silicon Valley, California
 March 14, 1990
 Moderator: Matt Greenwald

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Suburban Chicago, Illinois
March 15, 1990
Moderator: Wilma Goldstein

WEEK THREE

REVIEW AND REVISIONS MEETING

Washington, D.C.
March 19, 1990

WEEK FOUR

FOCUS GROUPS: THREE LOCATIONS, SIX GROUPS

Suburban Atlanta, Georgia
March 27, 1990
Moderator: Matt Greenwald

Little Rock, Arkansas
March 28, 1990
Moderator: Matt Greenwald

Southeastern Ohio
March 29, 1990
Moderator: Matt Greenwald

WEEK FIVE

REVIEW AND REVISIONS MEETING

Washington, D.C.
April 2, 1990

WEEK SIX

FOCUS GROUPS: THREE LOCATIONS, SIX GROUPS

Sioux Falls, South Dakota
April 7, 1990
Moderator: Wilma Goldstein

Los Angeles Basin, California
April 9, 1990
Moderator: Wilma Goldstein

Denver, Colorado
April 11, 1990
Moderator: Wilma Goldstein

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Discussion Contents

The discussions were guided by a structured outline of topics and suggested probes implemented by the moderator of each group. The discussion outlines used by the moderators are in the Appendix. The discussions followed the general sequence of introducing the conservative theory in stages. This allowed an assessment of the degree to which the participants agreed with the theory and its language before actually hearing it. The discussions first allowed the target voters to express what they thought is right and wrong about our country by asking them what the new governments in Eastern Europe should copy and what should they avoid about us. They next read news stories about American failings, discussed them individually, and discussed their possible underlying theme. The conservative theory of these stories was then presented for their reactions. The same sequence of news stories and the conservative theory of them was followed for what is right about our country.

There were three versions of the discussion outline corresponding to the "three waves" of groups: each version was used at three locations in a single week. Their content represents the changes made after the first and second waves. Each discussion outline contains the dates it was used and approximately how much time was allotted to each topic within it.

Two of the major additions to the content of the discussions involved the search for the proper language to use to communicate the conservative theory. In the second and third waves, lists of seven adjectives and seven nouns were given to the participants as possible descriptions for the general theme in the news stories about "American failings." In the third wave, a list of 24 nouns was given the participants as possible descriptions of what "best explains the accomplishments of America and its people." The third major addition was an open-ended discussion of the country's military defense requirements in view of the demise of the Warsaw Pact. This addition was made in the third wave of groups. To make room for these additions, three of the video presentations were dropped from the second and third waves, and the other two video presentations were dropped from the third wave.

While the moderators did cover all the major topics in the outlines, the content of the actual discussions can only be ascertained from the group transcripts, video tapes, or audio tapes. Subtopics in the outline sometimes were skipped when other topics generated more discussion than planned or unexpected subjects were raised. The discussions averaged one

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hour and 45 minutes.

Discussion Content

	Wave one	Wave two	Wave three
NATIONAL DEFENSE	no	no	yes
SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN THE U.S.	yes	yes	yes
NEWS STORIES - FAILINGS	yes	yes	yes
SELECTION OF NEGATIVE WORDS	no	yes	yes
VIDEO 1: FAILINGS	yes	yes	no
NEWS STORIES - SUCCESSES	yes	yes	yes
SELECTION OF POSITIVE WORDS	no	no	yes
VIDEO 2: SUCCESSES	yes	yes	no
VIDEO 3: FAILINGS/SUCCESSES	yes	no	no
VIDEO 4: NINE DOT EXERCISE	yes	no	no
VIDEO 5: \$1.2 TRILLION	yes	no	no

Messages and Measures

Prepared messages were presented to the groups in two forms: video tapes and written excerpts from newspaper and magazine news stories. The scripts for the videos and the news story excerpts are in the Appendix. The video tapes were produced by GOPAC, and the news story excerpts were prepared by Market Strategies, Inc. from material supplied by GOPAC.

Five different video spots were used in the project. Video 1 presented an explanation of various problems in the U.S., attributing them to "the bureaucratic welfare state" and "the values of the left". Video 2 presented an explanation of success in the U.S., attributing success to "technological progress," "entrepreneurial free enterprise," and "basic American

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values" which the video summarized as "the Triangle of American Success." Video 3 was a combination of the messages in the first two videos. Video 4 presented the "nine dot problem" as a heuristic device on how to develop solutions to persistent problems. Video 5 tested the credibility of President Bush's State of the Union assertion that "\$1.2 trillion is enough." The video spots ranged between one and four minutes each.

Video 1 and Video 2 were the most important to the overall research purposes of the project. They were presented in the first two waves of focus groups. They were dropped from the third wave because the reactions from the first 12 groups were consistent and further presentations were unnecessary. Video 3 was presented only in the first wave. It was dropped from the subsequent groups partly because it repeated a serious flaw in content from Video 2. Some participants' critical comments of Video 2 predisposed their groups against Video 3. (These participants took exception to Video 2's singling out the "values of the left" as a major source of the country's problems.) Video 4 and Video 5 also were presented only in the first wave of groups. Video 4, "the Nine Dot Problem," made a tangential point to the overall themes being tested, was positively received, generated interesting comments, but was dropped to make room for other topics and testing exercises in the second and third waves. Video 5, "\$1.2 Trillion Is Enough," was not considered part of the project's overall research purpose other than its representing a test of specific rhetoric which Republicans might use. The test was negative.

The news excerpts were of two types: examples of "failures" and examples of "successes" in America. The failure stories were meant to be examples of two subjects: (1) bureaucratic incompetence, waste, and corruption and (2) left wing or permissive values. In covering these subjects, they also dealt with the problems of crime, education, welfare, and other topics. The success stories were meant to be examples of three subjects: technological progress, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and basic American values. In covering these subjects, they also dealt with crime, education, welfare, and other topics.

Seventeen failure stories and seventeen success stories were used in the project. In the first and third waves of groups, each group read five of the failure stories and five of the success stories. In the second wave, a sixth failure story was added while the total of five success stories was kept the same. The second wave focused on developing alternative rhetoric to "values of left." A values story was added to help generate suggestions for an alternative language. Each of the stories took one to three minutes to read. The decision to

test five of each type per group was based on the need for the participants to have an adequate number of examples to perceive a theme balanced against the potential for participant fatigue.

In the first wave, each location had a different set of 10 stories. This allowed using 30 stories in the first wave to determine how well this general technique would work aside from the particular selection of stories. (Both groups at one location read the same set of stories.) In the subsequent waves, some stories were used more often than others based on the quality of the discussions they were generating and the generic point they made. Consequently, by the end of the project some stories had been read by as many as 143 people and others by as few as 18 people. How often and where each story was used is summarized in the Appendix.

The participants completed rating scales on the news stories and the videos. The rating scales are in the Appendix. They rated the stories on the degree to which they approved or disapproved of their general content (on a four point scale) and how typical they thought each one was (on a three point scale). They rated the videos on six, 10 point scales on how much they believed it, found its content important, thought it was influential, understood its content, liked it, and agreed with it. The results are discussed in the Analysis.

GOPAC FOCUS GROUP SITES

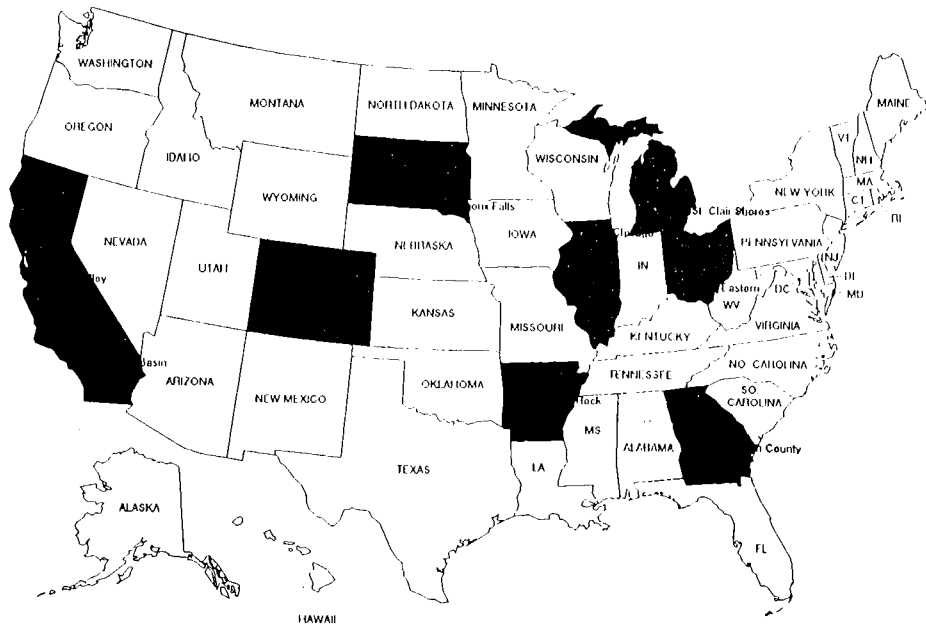


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FINDINGS

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The target voters agree with parts of the conservative theory's explanation of what is wrong in the country and generally agree with all of the theory's elements of what is right about the country. Most of the main terms in the language used to communicate the theory is satisfactory or better. However, the theory and its language, at its present stage, falls short of being ready to motivate the target voters to support a new governing majority.

The conservative theory is closest to being a motivating force for a new majority when it discusses values. The target voters already draw a connection between personal values and two national problems at the top of their issue agenda, i.e., crime (including drugs) and public education. They enthusiastically endorse the importance of the basic values of the American people as responsible for the country's success. Significantly, they believe that our values are the ingredient to our success that we are most in danger of losing.

The government bureaucracy part of the conservative critique of society needs to draw a stronger connection between bureaucracy and important national problems. The government's slowness and complexity are an existing aggravation with the target voters, but they see bureaucracy more as a source of personal inconvenience than as a cause of national problems or as a major obstacle to their solutions. Shorter lines and less paperwork would be welcomed changes, but those prospects are not what would drive these voters to the polls. What would act as a motivator is if the target voters thought that bureaucracy was preventing the execution of greater goals such as controlling drugs, improving the quality of public education, and cleaning up the environment. The target voters know that bureaucracy slows them down individually, but they do not know that bureaucracy slows them down collectively.

The welfare part of the conservative critique does add an important element to the theory. There is substantial agreement that the welfare system causes a great deal of social harm by perpetuating dependence on public assistance across generations. There are actually three lines of thought in regard to welfare which a conservative theory must take care to recognize equally. First, there is substantial anger directed at "welfare cheaters." Second, there is recognition that it is rational to stay on welfare. Third, there is support for the social

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obligation to provide for the truly needy.

They see a system that allows the "able-bodied" to exist on the efforts of others as clearly wrong. A theory which attacks this situation is definitely pushing a so-called "hot button." In this attack, however, the theory must contend with the health care exception. The target voters believe it is rational to stay on welfare to remain qualified for Medicaid. This is a different consideration than a minimum wage job paying less than welfare which often leads to the conclusion that welfare benefits are too generous. In this case, the voters are totally sympathetic with the welfare recipient. A family must have health insurance. (A strong challenge to a conservative theory is the fairly broad agreement among these voters that our country needs guaranteed health care for everyone. Their allowance for welfare recipients to remain on welfare to receive Medicaid is just a logical extension of their overall position on health insurance.)

The discussions underscored the political importance of supporting the "social safety net." The groups almost always qualified their criticism of welfare by stating their general support for helping those truly in need. Some felt uncomfortable in the discussion until this confirmation had been made. A conservative attack on welfare needs to allay any fears that it is advocating a Darwinian replacement. (Reagan's "safety net" rhetoric was very important.)

"Values of the left" is poor language to use to communicate that part of the conservative critique dealing with the problem of values in society. The expression does not correctly tap into the voters existing concern about values. Many target voters either do not understand the phrase or object to it. Indeed, it would have been a major error to have used this particular rhetoric. For those who do understand it, many of them think the language is divisive because it implies a group of people as well as a set of ideas. For them, it is unfair to blame the country's major problems on a particular group. In the language's group meaning, it implies a second group, "the right." The objection then raised is that no group is entirely right or wrong and that "the right" as well as "the left" can share the blame for what is wrong in our country. The stronger objection is that the language rings of scapegoating and "McCarthyism."

Part of the psychology at work, for both the mild and strong objectors, is the disapproval of any theory that poses conflict. There is a strong strain of thinking among Americans, likely stronger among those who do not participate in (partisan) elections, that problems can be solved by reaching a consensus or "working together" as the target voters

sometimes phrase it. Rhetoric using the notions of "left" and "right" denotes conflict, not consensus. Significantly, the other parts of the conservative theory do not ask people to choose sides, and they all are moderately to strongly accepted by the target voters.

"Permissive values" is the target group's choice for alternative language to "values of the left." Having read and discussed five to six examples of stories dealing either with bureaucratic performance or liberal policies, "permissive" was the most common word volunteered to describe the common theme in the stories. It was also more frequently chosen over "liberal" and "left-wing" from a list of adjectives to describe the common pattern behind the examples. ("Conservative" and "traditional" were also on the list and they did receive a few votes.) "Destructive" (which was on the list because of its volunteered mention in the first wave of groups, along with "permissive") was the second most frequently chosen. Noticeably, then, the target voters tend to avoid standard ideological terms - liberal, conservative, and left-wing - to explain the nation's ills.

The voters are using the term permissive in the sense that government is too permissive with criminals, many welfare recipients, and the rich. They also use it in the sense that the interests of the few are overly protected at the expense of the majority. In both cases, their primary grievance are actions in favor of the interests of convicted criminals.

The demise of the traditional family is a recurring theme in the groups. This theme comes the closest to an alternative theory on what is wrong in society. In particular, they use the demise of the traditional family to explain the increase in crime in our society and the decline in the educational achievements of American students. Their explanation has its positive side: "parental involvement" is the key to assuring a quality education and raising good citizens. Single parent families are seen as just one-half of the problem. Families with two working parents are viewed as equally important. The groups do not have a solution and do not suggest that women should return to the home. For both spouses to work is an economic necessity in today's economy, they say (which is an important finding about the target voters on its own). The groups, in effect, describe a dilemma: one, if not both, of the parents should be devoting a major share of their time to the job of child rearing, but both parents must be employed to have an adequate standard of living. This situation, they believe, is an important cause of the crime and inferior learning by today's youth.

Another related theme expressed in the groups, although not quite as frequently as the demise of the traditional family, is the loss of community. They see less willingness for people

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to help people. They believe many of the discussed problems could be more effectively handled by community based actions. Both with parental involvement and community involvement, the target voters are focusing on personal level solutions rather than government solutions. (The "thousand points of light" is not empty rhetoric.)

The discussions of the crime issue uncovered a profound disagreement between official penal policy and the public's sense of justice; many people do not believe in parole. The issue of parole generated the most impassioned expressions of opinions on any topic in the project. Many believe parole turns justice upside down. Instead of giving prisoners time off for good behavior, they would add time for bad behavior. They interpret good behavior as merely the absence of bad behavior for which no one, inside or outside of prison, should receive an award. Consequently, there is the widest possible difference between the official philosophy of sentencing and what the general public believes it should be. (The policy that "inmates earn a day off their sentence for every day served without trouble" is totally bizarre to these voters.) One significant consequence of parole policy is that it has created a deep public cynicism about the U.S. criminal justice system.

Most of the criticism levied against the criminal justice system is about sentencing and the treatment of prisoners. What is conspicuously absent are complaints about the rights of those accused of a crime. A few times, participants explicitly qualified their harsh views about sentencing by voicing their support of due process. This clearly suggests that the conservative critique should focus on sentencing and the serving of sentences and not on lessening the procedural rights of the accused as has been the tendency of some conservative critiques. In short, once a person is found guilty the target voters support the toughest possible actions, but they do not necessarily wish to deny any current rights in order to hasten a guilty verdict.

Bureaucracy is the one subject on which the groups' unprompted mentions, even if scattered, directly match one of the themes of the conservative theory before they are presented the conservative theory's focus on it. As mentioned, the criticism is more on the plane of individual aggravations than seeing bureaucracy as a barrier to solving national problems. Even so, the conservative critique of bureaucracy helps gain a receptivity to the whole theory. A suggestion on language also accompanies these mentions. "Red tape" is frequently used as their synonym for bureaucracy. The "red tape" language communicates their chief complaint about bureaucracy - it slows them up. One can speculate here about

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the American character and the importance to Americans of action, speed, and getting results. The "red tape" language would help tap into that national character trait.

All of the examples of bureaucratic ineptitude, absurdities, and corruption presented in the groups elicit high rates of intense disapproval. It was the nature of these "bureaucratic horror stories" that no one could be expected to approve of them. What is significant is that the target voters do not view them with indifference. Moreover, they do not believe such examples are just isolated cases. Examples of bureaucratic failures do anger target voters and are weapons to use against the "bureaucratic welfare state."

The bureaucratic example that generates the most comment across the 18 groups concerns the story of Grace Capetillo, a woman in Wisconsin who lost her welfare benefits because she built a savings account of \$3,000. Of the 113 participants who read this story (see "Scripping Is Legal, But Savings Is Out" in the Appendix and the Condensed Transcript), most, 79 percent, are critical of the government policy that places a limit on the savings accounts of welfare recipients. This example is not noteworthy by its quantitative rating as the other bureaucratic stories receive even higher rates of disapproval. (The other bureaucratic stories are devoid of a defensible policy.) The Grace Capetillo story captures a special interest of the participants even though some of the other stories relate greater personal tragedies as the result of bureaucratic actions or inactions. They see the Capetillo story as an example of individual initiative and intelligence that is punished by the government. Some speculate that the government wants welfare recipients to remain poor. For many, Grace Capetillo embodies basic American values. The long discussions of this story indicate the target voters are significantly protective of those values. ✓

The stories representing liberal values on crime receive high rates of disapproval and generate the specific opposition to early release programs discussed above. (See, in particular, "Despite Threats to Actress, Prison to Release Attacker" in the Appendix and in the Condensed Transcripts.)

The set of stories generating the most mixed reaction are those dealing with liberal values on sexual relations. Majorities do agree with the conservative critique of these examples, but this area is not as firm as the others. One third of the participants reading the stories on one state's use of humor to promote the use of condoms (see "National Condom Week") and a court's extension of rent control rights to gay couples (see "Court Widens Family Definition to Homosexual Couples") approve of the actions taken in them. This rate of

approval is twice as high as for any of the other "negative" examples. Moreover, the majorities who disapprove of these two examples do so with less intensity than for the examples on crime and bureaucratic failures. Almost all the target voters disapprove of a third example concerning the teaching of lesbian values through a school sponsored program (see "What Schools Teach Children About Homosexual Sex). Importantly, the more educated groups are not more "liberal" in regard to these stories than the less educated groups; there are no significant differences by education.

The target voters give the video presentation of the conservative theory's critique of the nation's problems very high quantitative ratings despite its flawed language when it refers to "the values of the left." They especially think the subject matter is important and rate their degree of agreement with its content very high. They also give the video very good marks on its clarity and believability. They are more qualified in their ratings of how influential the message would be with others, and, consistent with public ratings of most critical or "negative" messages, they only mildly "like" the video presentation. All of these ratings are more positive than the best ratings given campaign advertisements. The video presentation probably scores so well relative to campaign advertisements because it is less partisan. Attacking the "values of the left" in the video, then, does not cause the same strong negative reaction as an attack on Republicans or Democrats would. It does introduce language that the subsequent discussions reveal is not well understood by many and annoying to some. Those who object to the language are later able to turn the balance of the groups against this language.

The groups give the video presentation of the conservative theory's explanation of success in the country extremely high quantitative ratings, better than the ones they give to the theory's explanation of failure which are very positive in their own right. In the ensuing discussions of the video's "Triangle of American Success," the groups not only agree with all three parts of the theory's explanation of what is good about our country, they make no serious substitutions of factors which they think are more important, nor do they have any serious problems with the language communicating this part of the theory.

Of the three sides to "the Triangle", the importance of the values of the American people receives the widest and most enthusiastic endorsement. This is also the second area, in addition to complaints about bureaucracy, on which the voters see the same systemic factor as identified in the conservative theory before they are presented the conservative theory's focus on it. While they agree with the other two factors in the conservative explanation of

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(cf. & tech progress)

success, those factors are not prominently mentioned before the presentation of the full theory. "Free enterprise" receives some prior mentions, and it ranks well when the target voters select words from a prepared list toward the end of the discussions. "Technology" or "technological progress" or their equivalents receive no mentions in the first stages of the discussions, and do not fair well in the later selection of words to account for the success of the country. However, no one objected to the use of "technological progress". Because the general reaction to the complete triangle is very positive, "technological progress" may be playing a complimentary role that goes unexplained by the participants.

The subject of values is raised in different forms and in both the context of what is wrong and right in the country. In the context of what is wrong, the target voters do not identify the problem in terms of liberal or "left-wing" problems but more in terms of a lack of values or "permissive values." On the positive side, the groups mention specific values that are important, but they are quite satisfied with the theory's generic label of "basic American values."

"Hard work" is a special value of Americans. In the discussions of what leads to success in our country and what are some of the most important examples of Basic American Values, hard work is the most common answer. Later, when given a list of 24 qualities from which to choose the ones that best explain the accomplishments of Americans, "hard work" ranked fourth in the selections behind only "initiative," "freedom," and "free enterprise." It was placed ahead of such qualities as "individualism," "innovation," "self-reliance," "equality," and "cooperation." The high value placed on hard work has important political implications. These mostly middle class citizens see many of the rich and many of those on welfare as benefiting from other than hard work. An essential part of their just society is a process that rewards hard work and withdraws rewards from those who seek rewards through other means. In this context, it is easy to understand why "workfare" programs are so popular with the general public and why financial gains from federal tax laws and fraud in the S&L industry are so annoying to them.

With one minor exception, the target voters react favorably to all of the conservative theory's examples of technological progress, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and basic American values. In contrast to the failure examples and contrary to fact, they think many of the success stories are isolated cases. They do not see any of them as "very typical." Consequently, in their ratings of the occurrence of the positive and negative examples, they

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draw a very pessimistic picture and make a strong case for change.

Particularly disappointing are their perceptions of the two pure examples of entrepreneurial free enterprise among the examples presented to them. Very few participants think that Texas Instruments' success pioneering the silicon transistor (15 percent) and the transistor radio (14 percent) are "very typical" in the U.S. The participants do acknowledge that these free enterprise examples are more frequent than the other types of examples they read, many of which deal with individuals successfully circumventing the government bureaucracy. The free enterprise stories run into skepticism about an individual's ability, today, to raise the necessary capital to begin a business venture. This skepticism about entrepreneurial free enterprise as a solution represents both a basis to advocate reform and a possible problem on the perceived realism of the theory.

A story about the use of a public school as a day care center by extending its hours from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. (see "Use of Schools As Day Care Centers") is the basis of many of the comments on the importance of parental involvement and the loss of the traditional family. Instead of focusing on the entrepreneurial efforts to finance the program and the basic common sense of using existing facilities, this story triggered strong philosophical opposition to day care, in general. For those opposed, day care symbolizes a profound problem - parents abdicating an important part of their responsibility to others. While a majority do approve of this example, the intensity of the approval is noticeably weak relative to the other examples. The women (38 percent) are twice as likely as the men (17 percent) to disapprove of this example. Surprisingly, the better educated groups (33 percent) are more likely than the less educated groups (20 percent) to disapprove. This may reflect an important difference by education in the financial necessity for both parents to maintain employment.

During the discussions, several of the same subjects that are now commonly mentioned in political focus groups, were extemporaneously raised in these groups. These subjects represent continuing concerns of the American voters. They include our position in the world economy particularly in relation to the Japanese, our criminal justice system, the quality of public education, the high cost of health care, and abuse of our welfare system. Regardless of the specific topics a discussion guide contains, so long as the overall subject is related to national problems, several, if not most, of these subjects will be raised by U.S. voters.

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QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Examples of American Failings***Individual examples - overall results***

A total of 17 stories representing what the conservative theory puts forth as American Failings were presented to the target voters. Ten stories deal with the bureaucratic welfare state and seven stories deal with liberal values. The 10 stories dealing with the bureaucratic welfare state cover bureaucratic ineptitude, corruption, and absurdities. The seven stories dealing with liberal values cover sexual relations, crime, early release, and individual rights. Overall, the target voters agree with the conservative theory that these stories are American failings. Majorities ranging from 63% to 96% disapprove of all of the 17 stories. Eighty percent or more of the target voters disapprove, and 50% or more strongly disapprove of 14 of the 17 stories. The three exceptions, ranging from 27% to 44% strong disapproval, concern liberal values. With the exception of two stories ("What Schools Teach Children About Gay Sex" and "National Condom Week") majorities, ranging from 61% to 91%, of the target voters feel that these stories are not isolated cases.

Bureaucratic ineptitude is characterized by the following five stories: "Public Swimming Pools: Painters Take A Short Cut", "Family Of Six Dies In Fire", "Too Many Employees: Not Enough Work", "Breakfast In Bed", and "Maintenance Shortage". The target voters were most disapproving of "Public Swimming Pools: Painters Take A Shortcut". This story shows the incompetence of public workers and their supervisors. Instead of cleaning the swimming pools before painting them, the painters painted over 9 months of glass and cigarette butts. Fourteen pools had to be drained, stripped and repainted. A 94% majority (one of the two highest levels of strong disapproval) of the target voters strongly disapprove of this story. Sixty-one percent or more of the target voters strongly disapprove and 85% or more disapprove of the four remaining stories characterizing bureaucratic ineptitudes.

Corruption is illustrated by the following two stories: "D.C. Department Of Human Services Under Investigation" and "One Man's Abuse Of Power". These two stories portray people who have used a bureaucracy for their personal gain. In alignment with the conservative theory, a very large majority of target voters strongly disapprove of these stories. Ninety-four percent (one of the two highest levels of strong disapproval) of the target voters strongly disapprove of "D.C. Department Of Human Services Under Investigation". A 74%

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majority of the target voters strongly disapprove of "One Man's Abuse Of Power". Ninety-six percent disapprove.

Absurdities are characterized by the following three stories: "Whose Graffiti Is Illegal?", "Nursing Home Tragedies", and "Scrimping Is Legal, But Saving Is Out". "Whose Graffiti Is Illegal?" has the highest (78%) strong disapproval rating of these three stories portraying bureaucratic absurdities. A resident in a housing project thought he was doing the project a favor by painting over an anti-Semitic slur in an elevator. Residents had complained about the graffiti to no avail. The resident who took it upon himself to cover up the graffiti was fined \$250.00 for "purposely and knowingly damaging property."

Target voters also disapprove (79%) with 50% strongly disapproving of "Scrimping Is Legal, But Saving Is Out" which describes a woman on welfare who scrimped and saved \$3000.00 in four years. The woman was charged with fraud by the Department of Social services, taken to court and fined \$15,545.00. Target voters who disapprove feel that the woman should be entitled to save any money she can, even if it is welfare money. This story generated a lot of interest among the target voters. A target voter in Los Angeles, California states "I felt sorry for this lady. I mean she was doing everything she could and I think our welfare system is screwed up." Another target voter from Los Angeles, California states "It's like the government wants you to stay poor. They don't want you to better yourself. If they're going to support you, they want you to stay on the same level forever." A target voter from Illinois states "It's not like she's going on a cruise...she's just trying to better herself. She's actually saving the money instead of putting something on a charge card to pay interest. Its earning the interest to do something positive. Another target voter from Illinois states "To get herself out of the situation. And the system took her down." Another target voter from Illinois states "Yeah, right, so I strongly disapprove. She was doing this on her own and it was her choice, you know. She's living on saltines and soup you know. She's clothing her kids on goodwill. According to this one, its like they're telling her...they want her to stay right where she's at instead of trying to help you get out they actually want you to stay right there."

Other target voters feel that if this woman could save money she could probably get a job and get off welfare. A target voter from Denver, Colorado states "I just feel that if she's that clever that she's able to put away that amount of money off her welfare, then she could find a job and put away the same amount off welfare.....get off welfare and get a job." Another target voter from Denver, Colorado states "I would prefer that we teach this woman to

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fish than giving her the fish so she can put them in her freezer and saving them up. I want to give her the skills so she can go out and support herself. Like he was saying earlier he's got friends that were on welfare and then once they started working found out that they were actually making more on welfare. I think the whole system needs to be changed, but I don't think that it gives anybody on welfare the right to start saving money now."

Sexual relations are characterized by the following three stories: "What Schools Teach Children About Gay Sex", "Court Widens Family Definition To Gay Couples Living Together", and "National Condom Week". Some target voters move away from the conservative theory when presented with situations of sexual relations. One-third of the target voters approve of two stories: "National Condom Week" and "Court Widens Definition Of Gay Couples Living Together". Target voters feel that the "Schools Teach Gay Sex" story and the "National Condom Week" story are isolated cases, while a majority (75%) find "Court Widens Definition" to be at least somewhat typical.

Eighty-nine percent of the target voters disapprove, with 65% of the voters strongly disapproving, of schools teaching gay sex to students. Project 10 (the name of the program in the example) is a school-sponsored program which invites a lesbian teacher to counsel students on safe sex and impart the message that it is alright for them to have sexual feelings for other people of the same sex. Parents were not informed of this lecture and students were not given the choice of not attending. Most of the target voter disapproval is based on parenting. The target voters feel that the parents should have the sole right to inform their children about homosexuality. It angered many people that the parents were not asked if their children could attend the lecture on Project 10. A target voter from Little Rock, Arkansas states "Well I figured, I have the right to educate my kids when I'm ready. I'm not even real big on sexual education in schools because I've already decided that it's my responsibility to teach my kids. I buy them books, my son is eleven years old, he knows all about it already. I want to talk with him over it because I don't want him to get some girl pregnant at sixteen and not be able to talk with me about it."

Most of the approval is also based on parenting. Many target voters feel that any kind of education is good education especially if the child is not getting any direction from their parents. A target voter in Los Angeles, California states "I think any kind of education is good, whether it's something you agree with or not. And I don't know how you can say it about condoms and not homosexuality". Another voter from Little Rock, Arkansas states "I think

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okay, what schools teach children about homosexual sex. There again I feel like she was just trying to educate people into the subject that may not be talked about at home or that they may not be experienced with otherwise."

"National Condom Week" is one of the two sexual relations stories which one-third of the target voters approve. A total of 63% of the target voters disapprove of this example, while 34% approve. Thirty-eight percent strongly disapprove of this story. "National Condom Week" is an account of the Ohio state government's efforts to use humor through events and activities to inform people about condoms and safe sex. Those target voters who disapprove of this story do so because they feel that sexually transmitted diseases, teenage pregnancy, and AIDS is too serious a subject to make light of. One target voter from Georgia states "It's a real serious subject. It's something that needs to be dealt with and we need to educate people on it, but it [National Condom Week] seemed like more of a carnival type atmosphere. But, these things aren't going to make people more, really, educated and more likely to practice safe sex. They're going to remember the funny things. But they'll remember them as a joke, they won't remember them as wisdom or knowledge that was passed on."

The target voters who approve of "National Condom Week" do so because they feel the humor makes it possible to discuss a serious subject. A voter in Michigan states "I think that this is an issue that needs to be heard, and if it can't be taken seriously by most people, then humor is a good way to do it. Some of these things I find very innovative." Another voter in Michigan states "I agree. I think the humor would be helpful. There are some folks who if you treated it in a fairly serious way just get turned off. And if you look at the target audience they're not going to look at something in fine print on the side of a package or something like that or in an article in the newspaper. But, if you inject humor into it, you pick up on some of the subtle things. It just opens up your mind, I think." Another Michigan voter states "...it might spark discussions in the home and among people. Sometimes, if you break down those barriers, maybe you'll get a really serious discussion going."

Crime is characterized by "People are killing for cool clothes" which describes people killing others for their clothes. Ninety percent of the target voters disapprove of this story. Seventy-four percent of the target voters strongly disapprove of this situation. Twenty-six percent of the target voters feel that this is very typical, 58% somewhat typical, and 5% find it to be an isolated case.

Two early release stories, "Despite Threats To Actress, Prison To Release Attacker"

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Exhibit 15 26

and "Getting Away With Murder" were presented to the target voters. All target voters overwhelmingly disapprove, ranging from 88% to 95%, of the early release stories. A 69% majority strongly disapprove of the attacker being released even though he was still threatening the actress. Forty-nine percent find this to be very typical. An 83% majority strongly disapprove of juveniles being released without counseling, and then committing more violent crimes. Forty-three percent find this story to be very typical.

The "Actress/attacker" story ranks number 10 overall on the scale of intense disapproval towards the stories out of 17 tested stories. The "Getting away with murder" story ranks number 3 on the same scale. Even though the "Actress/attacker" story ranks number 10, it generates the most discussion among the examples of American failures. The target voters are mostly outraged by the attacker being released before his full sentence is served. A target voter from Georgia states "I believe once the sentence is passed out, he ought to be able to serve that sentence. What has been given to him, he should have to serve." A target voter from Denver, Colorado states "I strongly disapprove. If he's a nut, he's convicted, he's crazy and living over here and enjoying all our benefits, he needs to stay in prison and just do all of his time." A voter from Little Rock, Arkansas states "The actress, that's typical. Threats are not considered grounds to keep a person in prison. They're contradicting themselves. Threats are no good behavior by me. And so he's getting out on good behavior, yet it's a known fact that he's been sending her threats through the mail all this time, I'd say that's known misbehavior. I don't agree with that at all."

PERSONAL EXAMPLES OF AMERICAN
FAILINGS: TOTAL DISAPPROVAL

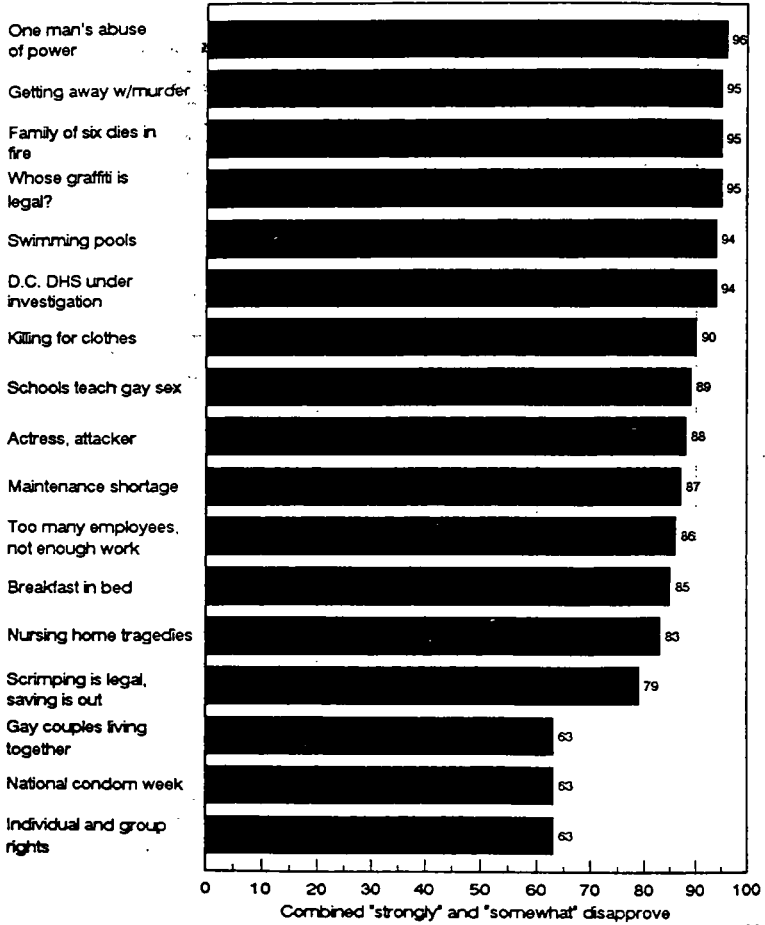


Exhibit 15

EXHIBIT 16

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
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WASHINGTON, D.C.
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PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

GOPAC3 484

RONALD K. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

February 21, 1990

Mr. and Mrs. David G. Crouse
1167 North Sheridan Road
Lake Forest, Illinois 60045

Dear Teresa and Dave:

I, along with my fellow GOPAC team members, want to thank you again for your service on the Executive Finance Committee. 1989 was a very successful year because of your efforts on GOPAC's behalf. Please know how very grateful Newt and I are for all that you are doing for our mission.

Our next Charter Meeting will be held on May 6 and 7 in Washington at the Willard Hotel. The theme for this meeting will be "The Winds of Freedom: Strides toward Democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." I know that you share our interest in all that has transpired over the past months. We are inviting foreign policy experts in a number of fields to address our Charter Members.

In addition, we are hoping to have a reception at the Vice President's residence. The request is in and we are optimistic. (As always!)

We are making great strides in preparation for the American Opportunities Workshop. May 19 is not very far away and we will most certainly brief everyone on our progress as we go and at our May meeting. Please be sure these dates are on your calendar.

We very much need our committee to focus on new members for this year. We would like each member of the committee to bring in five new members this year. A number of our members contribute more than \$10,000 per year and so we do not need to limit our efforts. Because we are not a federal committee, there is no limit to the amount that people may give.

The next two years are absolutely critical to all that we hope to accomplish. Our May 19 project will go a long way toward helping Republicans set an agenda and persuading Americans to realign with us.

Exhibit 16

GOPAC3 485

The May Charter Meeting is terribly important to us. It is my great hope that you will invite your friends who might be Charter Members and bring them to Washington with you. Ideally, we'd like them to come as new members, but most importantly we need to focus on 30 new members from this meeting.

I honestly believe that we can do it. I will be working hard to increase our membership with my friends. Please help me. I know that we can have a banner year.

As always, June Weiss will be here for you for any and everything that you might need. One very close friend says that she keeps the "headlights bright and the horns blowing" for GOPAC. Please know that she will be working for you in every way possible.


We probably need a conference call in the next couple of weeks. I will ask June to make the arrangements so that we can all talk about May 19 and the Charter Meeting.

Thank you. What a great year this is going to be!

Warmest regards,

HHC



June too clever! 

GOPAC

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GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

February 21, 1990

The Hon. Newt Gingrich
2438 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Newt:

I, along with my fellow GOPAC team members, want to thank you again for your service on the Executive Finance Committee. 1989 was a very successful year because of your efforts on GOPAC's behalf. Please know how very grateful Newt and I are for all that you are doing for our mission.

Our next Charter Meeting will be held on May 6 and 7 in Washington at the Willard Hotel. The theme for this meeting will be "The Winds of Freedom: Strides toward Democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." I know that you share our interest in all that has transpired over the past months. We are inviting foreign policy experts in a number of fields to address our Charter Members.

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Exhibit 16

WGC2-03992

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I honestly believe that we can do it. I will be working hard to increase our membership with my friends. Please help me. I know that we can have a banner year.

As always, June Weiss will be here for you for any and everything that you might need. One very close friend says that she keeps the "headlights bright and the horns blowing" for GOPAC. Please know that she will be working for you in every way possible.

We probably need a conference call in the next couple of weeks. I will ask June to make the arrangements so that we can all talk about May 19 and the Charter Meeting.

Thank you. What a great year this is going to be!

Warmest regards,

Bo

HHC

Hunt - A/I
JW

WGC2-0395

Exhibit 16

EXHIBIT 17

March 7, 1990

Dear :

Our May 19th American Opportunities Workshop is the single most exciting project I've ever undertaken. I consider this program critical to our efforts to become a Republican majority.

I think you and I agree that the majority of people in America share our values. And we also believe that many Americans recognize the need for a fundamental rethinking of our approach to the nation's problems.

The problem is reaching these people with our message of hope and opportunity.

GOPAC's assistance and training is established with the audience we have targeted. Grassroots activists, incumbent legislators, and challengers know and use our language and philosophy. Republican Members of the House of representatives have been very supportive of our program.

However, the backing of these groups alone will not produce a realignment. In order to encourage Americans to vote -- and vote Republican -- so that we may enact our policies of opportunity, we must reach them with our vision of hope.

It is time for our message and program, now proven among those in the trenches, to be shared with the Americans who are not motivated by our current government to go to the polls or get involved.

Our Imperial Congress has taken our country away from us. We have been buffeted repeatedly by such scourges as daily crime and violence that they have become a routine part of our lives.

Exhibit 17

You and I are fortunate in that we recognize our potential to bring about change. It is my hope that we can show Americans how their lives can be vastly different.

The American Opportunities Workshop is GOPAC's answer to teaching and empowering the American people. We hope that the citizen movement launched by this project will be the key to a future of Republican governance.

But we fully recognize the enormity of this task and we need your involvement.

While we have always viewed our mission with great urgency, we have reached a most critical juncture in our work.

I hope you view this project with as much promise as I do. I would appreciate the opportunity to discuss with you your thoughts, questions, or concerns.

We need your excitement and participation now more than ever.

Best wishes,

HHC

Exhibit 17

EXHIBIT 18

GOPAC

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Chairman

March 16, 1990

Mr. Barry D. Kahn
1625 Valarian St.
Anchorage, Alaska 99508

Dear Mr. Kahn:

With your help, we're launching a movement to make the '90's a decade of opportunity for all Americans.

We're doing so in a way unique in American political history.

And Mr. Kahn, I want you to be a part of this tremendously exciting event. You are one of GOPAC's most important members, and I simply can't imagine embarking on this project without your active participation and support.

Let me tell you what I'm planning, and how I hope you'll help.

On May 19th, GOPAC will sponsor and I'll host a satellite teleconference we're calling the "American Opportunities Workshop."

We're planning on thousands of Americans at over 300 sites across the Nation -- churches, homes, even Holiday Inns and union halls -- joining us in our workshop on that Saturday this spring.

Our workshop will feature community activists and others working at our Nation's grass-roots. Its purpose is to showcase commonsense solutions to the problems facing us. It will enable Americans from all walks of life to share ideas about how to expand the hope and opportunity, and bury the bureaucratic welfare state.

We're going to address issues that confront all Americans -- like crime, taxes, education, drugs and welfare -- and we'll be exploring ways to solve these issues where they can most effectively be solved, at the state and local level.

And we'll be reaching voters with our message, and helping drive down to the state and local level our politics of realignment.

Through the use of satellite hook-ups, not only can we reach new groups of voters not traditionally associated with our Party, but we'll be able to give them our message straight, without it being filtered and misinterpreted by liberal elements in the media.

Exhibit 18

440 First Street N.W., Suite 400 • Washington, D.C. 20001

2732

First of all, I'd like to know if you personally want to participate in a workshop located near you. It would be great to have you join us on May 19th.

If you would like to participate, or if you'd simply like to receive more information about the workshop, then be sure to mark the appropriate box on the enclosed reply memorandum to me. I'll make sure you're contacted directly by one of our GOPAC staff.

Even if you'd rather not be involved personally, however, GOPAC urgently needs your financial commitment to help make the "American Opportunities Workshop" a success.

For that reason, I hope you can make a special contribution today to help us defray the costs of this ambitious program.

Bo Callaway, GOPAC's chairman, has told me that putting on the workshop will cost GOPAC approximately \$197,000.

Because I believe it has such great potential for helping President Bush, our candidates and our Party, I told Bo to move ahead with planning the workshop.

But I know that this extraordinary program is going to put a strain on GOPAC's 1990 campaign year budget. That's why I'm so hopeful you will give GOPAC and the "American Opportunities Workshop" a financial vote of confidence today.

I truly believe that our Party and our President stand on the verge of a tremendous success this year, and that this workshop can be a great election year boost to us. But as always, our success is linked directly to your continued loyalty and generosity.

I'm sure you will help us if you possibly can. Thank you.

Gratefully,

Newt Gingrich

Newt Gingrich, M.C.
General Chairman

P.S. I've enclosed some excerpts I clipped from President Bush's recent State of the Union address. So much of what he discussed is tied to what we're doing through the "American Opportunities Workshop." If you can make a contribution, hopefully no later than April 20th, I'd be especially appreciative. Thanks again.

Exhibit 18

EXHIBIT 19

GOPAC3 467

October 23, 1990

Mr. Thorton Stearns
5 Fernway
Winchester, Massachusetts 01890

Dear Thorny:

As you know, one of GOPAC's main efforts this year was to produce and air the "American Opportunities Workshop," an interactive nationwide television broadcast and grass-roots rally that took place on May 19th.

With more than 600 workshop sites across the country, 30,000 participants, and extensive media coverage, AOW was a significant success on its own terms. However, the real reason GOPAC took on AOW was to explore an innovative new mechanism for creating and motivating the new Republican majority of the 1990s.

That's why we think the real success of AOW will be seen on October 27th, "Taxpayers Action Day." Taxpayers Action Day will be a day of nationwide rallies and protests against higher taxes and government waste, and will begin with a 60-minute television program, airing on the Family Channel at 10:00 a.m. EST.

Although Taxpayers Action Day is a project of the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste, a taxpayers' action group led by former U.N. Ambassador and Republican Senatorial candidate Alan Keyes, it literally would not have been possible without the work GOPAC funded and carried out through AOW. Indeed, Mark Colucci, who led our grass-roots organizing efforts with AOW, has spent the last month as a consultant to Citizens Against Government Waste applying the lessons we learned and teaching its staff how to utilize television as part of a major grass-roots effort.

In short, the AOW experiment is now meeting the market test; proving that the technology we pioneered has broad application for motivating conservative grass-roots coalitions. And we're excited that our technological innovation is now being utilized for a project as dear to our hearts as Taxpayers Action Day.

Exhibit 19

GOPAC3 468

During the next few weeks, you will be reading and seeing more about the anti-incumbent mood in America and its implications for November 6th. As you read these stories and watch these reports, look for mention of Taxpayers Action Day -- and take some pride, as we do, in the knowledge that you made it possible.

Best wishes,

HHC/je

P.S. For a videotape copy of the broadcast, please call Mark Colucci at (202) 484-2312.

Exhibit -19

EXHIBIT 20

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
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440 FIRST STREET
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FAX (202) 783-3306

GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

GOPAC3 224

June 21, 1990

Mrs. Sylvia M. Thompson
2737 Lemon Tree Lane
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

Dear Sylvia,

I'd like to thank you for your support and commitment to GOPAC. Without your involvement we could not continue providing leadership to citizens, activists, and present and future Republican leaders. Your participation is crucial to me and to the important tasks at hand.

These are exciting times at GOPAC and we have been quite busy lately. I am excited about progress of the "American Citizen's Television" project, which will carry the torch of citizen activism begun by our American Opportunities Workshop on May 19th. We mobilized thousands of people across the nation at the grass roots level who as a result of AOW, are now dedicated GOPAC activists. We are making great strides in continuing to recruit activists all across America to become involved with the Republican party. Our efforts are literally snowballing into the activist movement we need to win in '92.

These are dynamic times that are rapidly changing the face of American politics. By renewing your Charter membership with GOPAC you can continue to institute change at the local level and work toward a better America. A governing Republican Party is no longer so far off. Together we are making great strides and changing America.

Again, thank you for all that you do for GOPAC, the Republican Party, and the country. Thank you in advance for your continued participation.

I hope you will let me know if you are ever in Washington. I would very much like to have some time to visit with you.

Yours Friend,


Newt Gingrich

P.S. Our next Charter Meeting is November 11 and 12. I look forward to seeing you there.

NG/sh

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC

Exhibit 20

EXHIBIT 21

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
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Hueneach
GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

MEMORANDUM

Eisenach
3950

TO: Newt Gingrich
Jim Tilton

FROM: Bo Callaway *BC*

DATE: August 27, 1990

SUBJECT: My understanding of meeting held in Jim
Tilton's office on August 22.

I presented the agenda which was produced in response to Dan Swillinger's memorandum and Newt's response.

The following was agreed to on the subjects of the agenda:

1. Newt agreed to the new ground rules which are that all regular funding of GOPAC, to include Charter members and direct mail, will be expended for traditional GOPAC and for support of Newt. All new projects must stand the market test and be pre-funded or they won't be done.

2. I went over the problems as shown in Exhibit A, and Newt did not have any disagreement with them.

3. I explained the current situation in some detail, as shown by Exhibits B through G, and Newt has a thorough understanding of the situation. After asking a lot of questions, he has a handle on where we are right now.

I went over the positive alternatives under Item 4, and Newt agreed with all of these at least in principle.

Newt then stated firmly that he feels we need to go back to basics for now through 1992. That the only special projects for 1992 should be 1992 election oriented projects. Newt has now concluded that you can't really affect 1992 elections indirectly -- we must do it directly through political programs.

Exhibit 21

He thinks we want a radical agenda that we fight through the House. This means that we must assume that GOPAC goes back to being a narrowly election oriented organization which focuses on such things as candidate projects for 210 congressional candidates. He would like us to dramatically expand our tape program. Our consultants should help script the tapes.

Newt thinks that we (GOPAC and the House) will define the agenda from now to 1992 more than the President will.

He thinks that we should design a significant part of our Charter meeting on how we get to 1992. He would like us to consider a special audio tape from Newt just for Charter members and prospects to talk about that. His thought was that it might be in 4 pieces:

1. An explanation of the Fall campaign.
2. The new solutions that we offer.
3. Framing where we are.
4. Something like the Chatanooga tape to get them pumped up.

In discussing ACTV, it was decided that we would continue through the September 29th program and we would make a decision at that time whether to continue. Unless there is additional funding we would not continue beyond September 29.

For September 29 we need a very strong program that is controversial enough to stir up our Charter members and other constituents. It should be a model show that we can use to explain what ACTV is all about. Jeff has agreed to take responsibility for this.

We talked about Joe Barton. Newt indicated that it is extremely important to keep Joe happy and suggested that we might want to send Joe \$100,000 now and all that he raises from Kissinger. (Since the meeting we have sent Joe \$50,000 which is all he requested at this time and have been in constant communication concerning the Kissinger event. I have not been able to talk to Joe directly, but will continue to negotiate this.)

HHC:lk

cc: Jeff Eisenach

Exhibit 21

AGENDA

MEETING WITH NEWT AND JIM TILTON

August 22, 1990

I. Agreement on Ground Rules - all future projects pre-funded subject to market test

II. Discussion of the Problems (Exhibit A)

III. Current Situation:

- a) Charter (Exhibit B)
- b) Direct Mail (Exhibit C)
- c) Cash on Hand (Exhibit D)
- d) Current Budget (Exhibit E)

IV. ALTERNATIVES

Positive:

- a) Send clear signals.
- b) Allow Charter Members to Earmark Funds.
- c) Adopt North Pole rules on spending.
- d) Great show for September 29.
- e) All out effort for November 11-12 Charter Meeting.
- f) Renewed Emphasis on Fund Raising
- g) Find Cinderella

Negative:

- a) Cancel ACTV. (Exhibit F)
- b) Renege on Commitments. (Exhibit G)
- c) Cut Consultants and/or Staff. (Exhibit H)

V. FUTURE - 1990 North Pole Project

Exhibit 21

EXHIBIT A

CURRENT PROBLEMS

August 21, 1990

- I. Mixed Signals. Basic Support has been for Traditional GOPAC.
- II. Attention and Funds Diverted to AOW and ACTV.
- III. No Newt Time for Fundraising.
- IV. AOW and ACTV (especially) Programs are not Salable. Not Enough of Newt and not Enough "Raw Meat".
- V. Anticipation or Perception of Recession among Charter Members.
- VI. As a Result of the Above, Cash has been Depleted to the Extent that we may not be able to Meet Commitments.

Exhibit 21

Eisenach
3854

EXHIBIT B
Analysis of Charter and Project Revenue
1989 and 1990

August 22, 1990

Date	1989 Actuals	1990 Actuals	1990 Projected	1990 Budget	Difference vs Budget	Project Revenue
January	\$136,250	\$83,470		\$167,470	(\$84,000)	\$100,000
February	\$70,531	\$68,550		\$106,200	(\$37,650)	\$100,000
March	\$112,500	\$92,908		\$82,600	\$10,308	\$150,000
April	\$57,100	\$62,850		\$196,500	(\$133,650)	\$50,000
May	\$170,400	\$196,900		\$118,000	\$78,900	\$50,000
June	\$87,600	\$54,200		\$147,500	(\$93,300)	\$25,000
July	\$99,665	\$99,500		\$118,000	(\$18,500)	\$1,063
August	\$61,775	\$46,000	\$22,500	\$88,500	(\$20,000)	
September	\$113,300		\$116,500	\$136,500	(\$20,000)	
October	\$210,000		\$216,000	\$226,000	(\$10,000)	
November	\$120,000		\$157,000	\$177,000	(\$20,000)	
December	\$155,150		\$98,000	\$118,000	(\$20,000)	
Total	\$1,394,271	\$704,378	\$610,000	\$1,682,270	(\$367,892)	\$476,063

Recommendations:

- 1) Renewed efforts at all renewals - Letters, Bo and Newt calls.
-) Andy Ireland to take charge of a Congressional Project to raise \$100,000
- 1) Real emphasis on the best possible Charter event in November.
 White House, Speakers, etc.

Exhibit 21

Eisenach
3855EXHIBIT C
Analysis of First Eight Mailings
1990

August 21, 1990

TRADITIONAL GOPAC

Mail Date	Jan 4	Feb 22	Apr 23	June 27	July 27
Package Name	Kickoff	Follow-up	Statement	Fair Elect	Pledge
Letters Mailed	31,855	31,188	31,123	25,227	27,855
Gross Income	\$120,003	\$41,593	\$38,777	\$32,966	\$37,032
Package Cost	\$25,986	\$22,668	\$19,461	\$15,521	\$13,811
Net Income	\$94,017	\$18,925	\$19,316	\$17,445	\$23,221
Net/Letter	\$2.95	\$0.61	\$0.62	\$0.69	\$0.83

NEW IDEAS

Mail Date	March 15	May 18	May 24
Package Name	AOW	State Tax	AOW Gram
Letters Mailed	35,315	22,021	6,610
Gross Income	\$27,090	\$18,182	\$2,688
Package Cost	\$20,507	\$14,210	\$4,529
Net Income	\$6,583	\$3,972	(\$1,841)
Net/Letter	\$0.19	\$0.18	(\$0.28)

TOTALS

Letters Mailed	Traditional 147,248	New 63,946		
Gross Income	\$270,371	\$47,960	Net Loss by Comparison	(\$66,382)
Package Cost	\$97,447	\$39,246	Net Loss vs. Projection	(\$31,099)
Net Income	\$172,924	\$8,714		
Net/Letter	\$1.17	\$0.14		

Projected Revenue for rest of year = \$81,060

commendation: We give our best efforts to get NRCC and RNC list for prospecting to drop in spring of 1991.

Exhibit 21

Eisenach
3858EXHIBIT D
Analysis of Net Cash Balance
1989 - 1990

August 21, 1990

DATE	NET CASH	VS LST MO	FOR YEAR
ACTUALS			
December 89	\$343,921		
January 90	\$416,170	\$72,249	\$72,249
February 90	\$494,092	\$77,922	\$150,171
March 90	\$469,132	(\$24,960)	\$125,211
April 90	\$362,821	(\$106,311)	\$18,900
May 90	\$332,263	(\$30,558)	(\$11,658)
June 90	\$256,007	(\$76,256)	(\$87,914)
July 90	\$191,689	(\$64,318)	(\$152,232)

Note: AOW has caused a cash drain of \$160,000.

ACTV has caused a cash drain of \$28,804.

PROJECTIONS			
August 90	\$168,364	(\$23,325)	(\$175,557)
September 90	\$145,163	(\$23,201)	(\$198,758)
October 90	\$271,455	\$126,292	(\$72,466)
November 90	\$330,992	\$59,537	(\$12,929)
December 90	\$352,789	\$21,797	\$8,868

Note: ~~Projections are based on giving no cash to Candidates~~
~~and on continuing ACTV through the end of the year,~~
 with no program after September 29.

Exhibit 21

EXHIBIT B
REVENUE AND EXPENSES
ACTUALS THROUGH JULY, PROJECTED FOR REST OF THE YEAR

August 22, 1990

	YTD	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	YEAR
RECEIPTS:							
Direct Mail - House	\$338,534	\$35,563	\$31,500	\$43,680	\$40,560	\$34,320	\$524,157
Direct Mail - Prospect	\$75,374	\$18,562	\$18,562	\$18,562	\$18,562	\$18,562	\$168,184
Telemarket	\$53,263	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$53,263
Charter and Trustees	\$658,950	\$68,500	\$116,520	\$216,000	\$157,000	\$108,000	\$1,324,970
GOPAC Leadership Council	\$38,725	\$14,000	\$17,000	\$14,000	\$3,000	\$4,000	\$90,725
General and Administrative	\$16,311	\$2,084	\$2,084	\$2,084	\$2,084	\$2,084	\$26,731
Audio/Visual Tape Program	\$3,875	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$500	\$6,375
American Opportunity Wkshp	\$377,140						\$377,140
Focus Groups	\$150,000						\$150,000
TOTAL RECEIPTS	\$1,712,172	\$139,209	\$186,166	\$294,826	\$221,706	\$167,466	\$2,721,545
EXPENSES:							
Direct Mail - House	\$225,905	\$19,883	\$25,883	\$25,883	\$22,883	\$6,383	\$326,820
Direct Mail - Prospect	\$77,589	\$21,250	\$21,250	\$21,250	\$21,250	\$21,250	\$183,839
Telemarket	\$33,875	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$33,875
Charter and Trustees	\$244,669	\$32,097	\$32,097	\$32,097	\$32,097	\$32,097	\$405,154
GOPAC Leadership Council	\$11,583	\$5,773	\$5,773	\$5,773	\$5,773	\$5,773	\$40,448
General and Administrative	\$71,275	\$14,371	\$14,371	\$14,371	\$14,371	\$14,371	\$143,130
Political	\$226,976	\$38,235	\$38,235	\$38,235	\$34,870	\$34,870	\$421,421
Audio/Visual Tape Program	\$34,540	\$7,385	\$7,385	\$7,385	\$7,385	\$7,385	\$71,465
Research and Development	\$127,552	\$21,740	\$21,740	\$21,740	\$21,740	\$21,740	\$236,252
ADM/ACTV	\$537,983	\$1,800	\$42,633	\$1,800	\$1,800	\$1,800	\$587,816
Focus Groups	\$113,450	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$113,450
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$1,715,397	\$162,534	\$209,367	\$168,534	\$162,169	\$145,669	\$2,563,670
NET	(\$3,225)	(\$23,325)	(\$23,201)	\$126,292	\$59,537	\$21,797	\$157,875

Exhibit 21

4-90 TUE 13:55 3030940516

P. 02

Eisenach
3958EXHIBIT G
COMMITMENTS

The largest single commitment we have is to Texas. Joe Barton feels that he is entitled to spend everything he raises in Texas on races that he picks. I am now negotiating with him on this. I get reports that he (and Brenda and others) are very upset with me, especially if they feel that "their" money has been spent on AOW or ACTV.

We had put in the budget \$130,000 for Texas. Joe thinks that he is already due about \$130,000 to \$140,000 and would get more from the amount he raises during the rest of the year. I have suggested in writing a compromise which might result in our spending some \$200,000 depending on how much money he raises. My guess is that if we promised him \$200,000 today, he would be happy and would continue to raise as much money as possible for us.

Other states in which specific amounts (in accordance with a budget approved in June) have been mentioned are:

Wisconsin	\$28,000
Florida	\$20,000
Arizona	\$10,000
Total	\$56,000

We have promised to help, but without specific amounts, in these states (amounts are approximately what it will cost to do what we have promised):

Oregon	\$10,000
Montana	\$ 6,000
Total	\$16,000

We have non specific commitments in Georgia, Tennessee and Pennsylvania.

All together, it will take about \$285,000 to fully fund what is expected of us.

Exhibit 21

SEP 4-98 TUE 13:34 3038940516

P. 03

Eisenach
3959EXHIBIT F
OPTIONS FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS TELEVISION

August 21, 1998

ASSUME CLOSE ACTV AT END OF AUGUST - NO SEPTEMBER PROGRAM:

OWE TO GOPAC	\$28,804
OWE TO CENTRAL BANK	\$25,000
TOTAL	\$53,804

ASSUME CLOSE ACTV AT END OF SEPTEMBER 29 PROGRAM:

SEPTEMBER PROGRAM	\$56,133
TOTAL	\$109,937

ASSUME CONTINUE TO END OF YEAR - PREPARE FOR 400 CABLE SITES

MARK COLUCCI	\$3,000
STACEY OSWALT	\$3,000
F EISENACH	\$6,000
L SERRANO	\$1,800

SUB TOTAL	\$13,800
BURDEN (25%)	\$3,450
COMMUNICATIONS	\$2,000

MONTHLY TOTAL	\$19,250
THREE MONTHS	\$57,750

TOTAL	\$221,491
	\$167,687

POSSIBLE FUNDING BETWEEN NOW AND JANUARY 1:

HMC FOUNDATION	\$5,000
THREE FUNDRAISERS	\$100,000
BRUCE BENSON	\$40,000
JIM RICHARDS	\$50,000
BILL LAUGHLIN	\$25,000
NOBLE FOUNDATION	\$50,000
KRIEBLE/STEADMAN	\$50,000
RAY CHAMBERS	\$10,000
KIRBY FOUNDATION	\$10,000
LIFE FOUNDATION	\$10,000
ALD REAGAN	?
IDERELLA	?
GER MILLIKEN	?
OWEN PINNACLE	?
TOTAL	\$350,000

Exhibit 21

EXHIBIT 22

Eisenach
3810

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

ROUTING SLIP

DATE: 2/8/90

TRANSMIT BY:

FAX

HAND

FEDEX

MAIL

FROM:

JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN	<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE	<input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BILL DYKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE	<input type="checkbox"/>
JOE GAYLORD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FRED STEEPER	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINEHART	<input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS	<i>Salvatore Colucci</i>
DAN MEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<i>John Morgan</i>
			<i>Don Starny</i>

COMMENTS

Exhibit 22

February 8, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BO CALLAWAY

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 

SUBJECT: Addendum to February 5 Implementation Memo

This memo updates and adds to my memo of February 5 on implementation of Project Launch.

1. Congressional Participation: You should be aware that Newt met yesterday with the GOP Freshman Class and asked them to take on, as a project, the recruitment and coordination of congressional involvement in the project. The response was generally very positive, and my guess is that they will agree to participate in a substantial way. In addition, Newt met last night with Dick Arney, Fred Grandy and Peter Smith and asked them to take an active role in designing and overseeing both the focus group and May 19 projects. They agreed to do so.

On this point, I discussed with Dan Swillinger this morning the question of what restrictions might apply to Congressional involvement, and he is drafting a "do's" and "don'ts" memo -- based essentially on the proposition that no official funds or resources should be used to aid the project.

2. "Wholesaling" vs. "System of Retailing": Newt and I have discussed at length the distinction between my notion of "wholesaling" and an alternative notion, "systematic retailing." The latter connotes personal attention, though on a level more akin to Nordstrom's than to a small boutique. Based on this modification in general principles, we have been discussing the need to, in effect, expand our sales force -- possibly through the use of a volunteer or contracted-out phone bank. I suggest we discuss this at our management meeting on March 12.

3. Targets of Opportunity: An area for immediate attention is "targets of opportunity" -- e.g. Georgia's 6th District, Colorado, and the D.C. area. We need to identify resources to ensure that we maximize our returns in these three areas, and other specific target areas we might add later. In particular, we need to put very high on our agenda the task of identifying a 6th District coordinator.

Exhibit 22

4. Trouble on the Conservative Front: Morton Blackwell turned me down yesterday to be a member of the steering committee. He, and many other conservatives, are mad at Newt about the voter registration bill. I'll take another pass at Morton today, because I think his participation is so important. If I'm not successful, we'll need to discuss how to fill this crucial void.

cc: Mark Colucci
Joe Gaylord
Newt Gingrich
Steve Hanser
Eddie Mahe
Dan Meyer
John Morgan
Tom Morgan
Don Starry
Dan Swillinger.

Exhibit 22

EXHIBIT 23

GOPAC3 460

M E M O

TO: Joe Gaylord
Mary Brown

FROM: Newt

DATE: March 30, 1990

RE: American Opportunities Workshop sites in the 6th
District.

The GOPAC print-out shows only one very tentative (Clay Davis)
site in my district. Time is getting short for finding sites and
GOPAC needs to have the hosts identified as soon as possible to
get materials to them to make the workshops a success.

Please make this a high priority.

cc: Dan Meyer
Katherine Brock
Dan McDade

Exhibit 23

EXHIBIT 24

Eisenach
4038

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

COVER SHEET

DATE: 6/26/90

WPG
June 1990

TO: Bo Callaway

Eisenach
4037

FROM: Jeff Eisenach

NO. OF PAGES (INCL. COVER)

5

MESSAGE:


Exhibit 24

FAX NUMBER: (202) 546-8239
717 SECOND STREET, N.E. WASHINGTON, DC 20002

(202) 546-8242

June 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BO CALLAWAY

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 
SUBJECT: ODR Change Project

As you requested, this memo follows up on our walk with Newt this morning and suggests an approach to the ODR change seminar.

Newt empowered us, I think, to think big. He said "institutions should be invented to meet the environment, not evolve incrementally." That means to me that anything is possible. Second, he suggested that one way to approach this is to imagine the newspaper story that would be written in January 1993, following George Bush's State of the Union, that described all the local workshops and cable access TV shows that were a part of both designing and carrying forward the message of that speech.

He also defined our environment for us. "We" are "the people who have ousted Jim Wright, created the most successful political training program in the country, pulled off a major national workshop, etc." That is, "we" are the people participating in the seminar and the rest of the GOPAC team, including "associates" like Eddie, Joe Barton, key charter members, etc., but probably not including the farm team, the entire base of charter members, all of the AOW site hosts, etc. In particular, "we" clearly is not defined as "the country, the Republican party, the conservative movement and the rest of the world."

What Newt did not do this morning is describe a specific change project for us. Yesterday, however, he did give us a good framework for thinking about where we should be going. In this handout, he identified three GOPAC/ALOF zones:

1. Local Elections
2. Planning/R&D
3. Movement

He indicated that we understand 1 & 2 relatively well, but need to think through 3. Points 7 and 8 in his handout suggested that we need to state a vision of success and develop specific milestones and yardsticks. And the chart he drew on the board (attached) showed us the environment we are working in and the areas where we should attempt to have an impact.

While all of this gives us a place to start, it still leaves us short of having a clear statement of a specific change project.

Exhibit 24

My suggestion at this point is that we ask ourselves the question "what if" -- as in, "what if we wanted to do X?" -- and approach the seminar on that basis. Thus, even if we later decide that we want to do Y instead of X, we will have learned the tools Daryl has to teach us and be able to apply them to Y.

What is X? My suggestion is that we define our change project as follows:

GOPAC must change from a single institution carrying out multiple, largely independent activities in two zones (local elections and R&D) into multiple institutions (GOPAC + ALOF, at a minimum) carrying out well-coordinated activities in three zones (local elections, R&D and movement/television). In addition, driven by the 1992 goal, GOPAC must become more active, more focussed and more tangible-goal-driven. Two things, superficially inconsistent, must happen simultaneously: (1) GOPAC must do more things in more zones; and (2) the things GOPAC does must be better coordinated and more focussed on a specific objective.

This description implies some reasonably well-defined questions that might reasonably be asked and answered during the next three days. For example:

- o Setting aside what the precise milestones and yardsticks are, how are they set and how do we monitor whether they are met?

- o How do GOPAC/ALOF's three zones interact with the "world at large" as portrayed in Newt's chart (attached)?

- o How do we do a better job of coordinating between the three GOPAC/ALOF zones of local elections, R&D and movement/television? How does R&D, for example get translated into activities in the other two zones?

- o How do we finance an increasingly active program, assuming that we do not wish to grow beyond 200 charter members? How do we do a better job interfacing between the marketing (i.e. finance) side and the other elements so as to maximize in-kind and financial participation by charter members?

- o What is ALOF/ACT's relationship to GOPAC? How actively does the GOPAC training program promote participation in ACT? How does ALOF fundraising interact (if at all) with GOPAC fundraising?

- o What implications do our answers to these questions have for what each of us (at the seminar) does, and how we interact with each other and with others on the GOPAC team?

Exhibit 24

Eisenach
4041

3

I'll leave it in your hands to decide whether any of this makes sense and, if you think it does, how to communicate it with the other participants. I'm out of the office from noon on today, and get in late tonight, so I'll see you in Atlanta tomorrow morning.

Exhibit 24

EXHIBIT 25

GOPAC3 0510

**CONFIDENTIAL
MASTERFILE REPORT****INDIVIDUAL**

I.D. # _____

NAME: Jim Richards PHONE _____

STREET ADDRESS: _____

MAILING ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PRIMARY CONTACT:
NAME: _____ TITLE: _____

HOME ADDRESS: _____

HOME PHONE: _____ OFFICE PHONE: _____

SECRETARY: _____

SECONDARY CONTACT:
NAME: _____ TITLE: _____

GIVING HISTORY:

GOPAC: _____ YEAR JOINED _____

KLOF: _____ YEAR JOINED _____

OTHER: _____

NOTES: asked for \$50-100,000

CONTACT HISTORY:

DATE OF CONTACT: 8/16/90

TYPE OF CONTACT: TV letter of 8/14 meeting w/ GE + GW

LAST CONTACT: _____

FOLLOW-UP: Call in week to see how sales pitch to Roy went. GW will do.

Exhibit 25

August 15, 1990

Mr. Jim Richards
Southwire Company
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia 30119

Dear Jim:

I very much enjoyed visiting with you yesterday and I appreciate your taking time out of your busy schedule to meet with me and June.

You had asked how we could measure the success of this project and I have listed several significant measures below:

1. The number of workshop sites across the country and the number of participants who attend. I have enclosed one of our national workshop site directories for your review.
2. The amount of media generated by each show. There were favorable reports in several major publications regarding the May 19th show including USA Today, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal.
3. The prestige of the individuals who participate and endorse American Citizens' Television including Pete du Pont, Detroit City Councilman Keith Butler, Congressmen Duncan Hunter, Andy Ireland, Fred Grandy and others. Governor of Maine Jock McKernan, President Bush and Vice President Quayle all participated in the May 19th show.
4. The number of allies who support us such as the Heritage Foundation, Free Congress, Citizens for a Sound Economy, the National Chamber of Commerce, National Vietnam Veterans Coalition, The Family Channel and Citizens Against Government Waste.
5. This is the ultimate and most effective use of technology to build a grass roots movement and in many ways will not be measureable except by watching the next two elections.

Exhibit 25

GOPAC3 0512

Jim, as is the case with the start-up phase of many operations, ACTV is in urgent need of special funding help to get it through its infancy. There is an immediate need for \$100,000 to \$200,000 to complete our fall programming and allow us to plan for next year.

I, of course, want to wish you the best of luck with your sales job. We're obviously very hopeful and are keeping our fingers crossed.

Again, thank you for meeting with us. Newt and Bo are deeply committed to this project and would be extremely pleased to have your support as well. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jeff Eisenach

Exhibit 25

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

410 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D C
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

GOPAC3 0513

ROBERT K. CHAIRMAN
NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

August 24, 1990

Mr. Jim Richards
Southwire Company
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia 30119

Dear Jim,

I enjoyed talking with you and appreciate your continued interest in everything that Newt and I are doing.

I understand your frustration. It can be difficult to measure the results of something like ACTV, but I think there are some objective criteria that we can use.

Since May 19th there have been nearly 1,000 ACTV workshops held across the country. Many activists are working on their third workshop for September 29th.

In addition to the workshops, we have more than 100 activists working to become ACTV affiliate producers. These people are enrolling in local cable classes now so that they can produce local programs in the fall.

Perhaps the greatest indicator of success is the talk of other national conservative groups on how they can copy what ACTV is doing. Clearly, what we are doing has captured the imagination of the grassroots political movement.

I appreciate that your talking to Roy and deciding what you will want to do. I hope it will not come to a choice between GOPAC and A.C.T.V. I strongly urge you to continue your strong support for GOPAC. That is the fundamental thing that we will need to do to control the U.S. Congress in 1992.

If you feel that you are in a position to do more, and especially if you would like to do it in a tax deductible way, I think A.C.T.V. is a good opportunity.

Please call me if at any time I can answer any questions or can be of help in any way.

Sincerely,



Exhibit 25

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION

Howard H. Callaway
Chairman
Stacey A. Oswalt
Director of Development

August 16, 1990

Mr. Jim Richards
Southwire Company
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia 30119

Dear Jim:

I very much enjoyed visiting with you Tuesday and I appreciate your taking time out of your busy schedule to meet with June and me. Of course, we are deeply grateful for your willingness to consider near term funding for ACTV.

I also wanted to respond to two specific topics that you raised.

First, your suggestion about the need to identify quantitative measures of success is well taken and I have given it some thought. Below I have gone over some of the measures of success we have used in the past.

We had a number of workshop sites across the country and several thousand participants who attended those workshops. I have enclosed one of our national workshop site directories for your review.

The media generated by each show is a great indicator. There were favorable reports in several major publications regarding the May 19th show including USA Today, The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal.

We had the support of prestigious people across America including Pete du Pont, Detroit City Councilman Keith Butler, Congressmen Duhan Hunter, Andy Ireland, Fred Grandy and others. Governor of Maine Jock McKernan, President Bush and Vice President Quayle all participated in the May 19th show.

We have strong allies who support us such as the Heritage Foundation, Free Congress, Citizens for a Sound Economy, the National Chamber of Commerce, National Vietnam Veterans Coalition, The Family Channel and Citizens Against Government Waste.

Exhibit 25

440 First Street, N.W., Suite 400 • Washington, D.C. 20001 • Phone: (202) 484-2312 • Fax: (202) 783-3306

1900 Grant St., Suite 850 • Denver, Colorado 80203

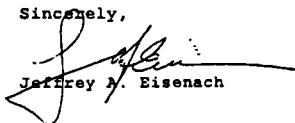
GOPAC3 0515

As we move forward we will continue to rely on these measures of success and will work to develop new ones. I would very much appreciate any of your thoughts on which specific measures would be most useful.

Secondly, we're very interested in your suggestion about using your production facilities and I'll be discussing this with our producer as we begin planning for next year. I'll let you know what we've determined as soon as possible.

Again, thank you for meeting with us. Newt and Bo are deeply committed to this project and would be extremely pleased to have your support as well. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,



Jeffrey A. Eisenach

JA/so

Exhibit 25

EXHIBIT 26

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

Eisenach
4280

ROUTING SLIP

DATE: 8/16/90

TRANSMIT BY:

FAX

HAND

FEDEX

MAIL

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN <input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE <input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY <input type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN <input type="checkbox"/>
BILL DYKE <input type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE <input type="checkbox"/>
JOE GAYLORD <input type="checkbox"/>	FRED STEEPER <input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH <input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER <input type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH <input type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINEHART <input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER <input type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH <input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS <u>Jim TILTON</u>
DAN MEYER <input type="checkbox"/>	

COMMENTS _____

Exhibit 26

R07-14-90 TUE 9:35 3039940516

P. 02

Eisenach
4251

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMANNEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMANHOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

MEMORANDUM

TO: Newt Gingrich

FROM: Bo Callaway *B.*

DATE: August 13, 1990

SUBJECT: Tentative decisions made at the North Pole Basin planning meetings.

I would have liked to have talked to you in person about our North Pole Basin meetings before sending this memo, but since you are going to be planning for 1992 this week, I think it is essential for me to get this information to you as quickly as possible. I would appreciate it if you would go over the material in this memo before you get involved in your 1992 planning session in Georgia.

The first part of the discussion was mechanical. It was agreed that there are three broad things that GOPAC does:

1. Traditional GOPAC.
2. Newt support.
3. Projects such as ACTV, AOW and focus groups.

It was unanimously felt that the regular funding for GOPAC, to include Charter and direct mail, should be spent for Traditional GOPAC and Newt support, and that all projects in the future should meet the test of the marketplace. That is, if they are not funded up front, we don't do them. The feeling was that this would take away from the concerns that many people have had about GOPAC sending mixed messages. Charter members would know what their money is being given for; those who give to projects would know what their money is being given for.

As an aside, it was also felt that no individual should be allowed to give to projects unless the first \$10,000 of that gift went as a Charter membership. For example, if a person was interested in a project of GOPAC and wanted to give \$100,000 to it, the first \$10,000 would be Charter and the next \$90,000 would go to the project. This would not apply to corporations or foundations, although for corporations we would encourage the first \$10,000 to be given as a Charter membership.

Exhibit 26

AUG-14-90 TUE 9:36 2038940516

P.03

Eileen
4252

2

Everyone felt that 1992 was the best chance that we will have in our lifetime to make the kind of bold changes that we all saw as necessary. Here is our plan for 1992, either done by GOPAC or by others, with GOPAC's encouragement:

1. 100-Day Agenda

It was strongly felt that we had to develop an agenda worth voting for. I think Dan Meyer is working on this now through ranking Members. We also know that Heritage, Cato, and others have pretty well developed things along this line. Our thought was for COS or GOPAC or someone to sponsor a meeting in Washington with all of the players such as Hudson, Cato, AEI, Heritage, Hoover Institute, as well as political consultants and Members of Congress who share our vision to discuss, in a conference for a day or two, what the 100-Day Agenda should be. Then the sponsor, with a few research and writing assistants would put together a document that, hopefully, would be approved by the vast majority of the participants as the agenda that candidates could support for the first 100 days in 1993 (because of 501(c)(3) participation, we might have to make it less Republican). We would give it a name (for now "100-Day Agenda") and would ask all candidates running in 1992 to sign off for supporting all or essentially all of the program. The conference should be held in Washington, no later than January 1991.

2. Recruiting Quality Candidates.

GOPAC (or some other entity) would make a real run at recruiting quality candidates. We would start by contacting our 6,000 on the farm team as well as any others that the RNC or NRCC might have. We would ask them to sign up to support the 100-Day Agenda and to consider running for Congress. We would use Tom Morgan, Mark Colucci and others to develop a number of candidates that would seem good. We would also try our best at determining who the ideal person or persons would be in each of our targeted 200 Congressional districts.

When we had a list of those we would like to recruit, we would send distinguished people such as Congressmen, former Congressmen, Governors, etc., to do the recruiting. We would have demographic and opposition research (hopefully done by the NRCC) to use as persuasion for those being recruited. We would have funds available to pay for travel expenses for those who do the recruiting. The idea would be to see that no later than June 1991 we had at least one good candidate committed to run and also committed to the 100-Day Agenda in every one of our 200 targeted districts.

Exhibit 26

AUG-14-90 TUE 9:37 3038940516

P. 04

Eisenach
4253

3

3. National Media Campaign

GOPAC would be the catalyst to set up a non-GOPAC independent expenditure group prepared to conduct a national media campaign for the three or four most significant items of the 100-Day Agenda and to publicize a list of candidates who are supporters of the 100-Day Agenda.

The idea is to be prepared with an independent expenditure group ready to go immediately after the Republican Convention and hopefully raise the \$30,000,000 it would cost to set the stage for a national campaign which spelled out the importance of making a change and the importance of voting for those who support the 100-Day Agenda.

All of this, as a 1992 project, would have to stand the test of the marketplace and be funded as a project before GOPAC would spend money on it.

The idea was that Eddie Mahe would do some planning together with input from all of us at the North Pole. I think Terry Kohler would fund the small amount of planning money required. Then we would have a meeting, probably on November 13, the day after the Charter meeting, of those Charter members who might be interested in putting this together. At that time Eddie Mahe would have a plan for us which we could then approve in more detail to include costs and time lines.

HHC:lk

Exhibit 26

EXHIBIT 27

CNB 0006

5198

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY
FOUNDATION
1275 TREMONT PL
DENVER CO 80204

2

PRIMARY ACCOUNT
PREVIOUS STATEMENT
05-31-90
CURRENT STATEMENT
06-30-90

IF YOU NEED ASSISTANCE OR HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CONTACT YOUR BETTER BANKER,
CONVENIENCE BANKING.

BETTER
BANKING
NEWS

FASTLINE IS A SERVICE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE FOR CONSUMER
ACCOUNTS AND SOON WILL BE OFFERED TO OUR BUSINESS
CUSTOMERS AS WELL. FOR MORE DETAILS PLEASE SEE THE
ENCLOSED BROCHURE.

YOUR
FINANCIAL
SUMMARY

ACCOUNT TYPE	NUMBER	BALANCE
INTEREST CHECKING	060-909	24,577.68

INTEREST
CHECKING
TRANSACTION
SUMMARY
060-909

BEGINNING BALANCE	486.08	TAXPAYER ID NUMBER	
DEPOSITS/ADDITIONS (1)	25,000.00	ANNUALIZED YIELD	4.7433%
WITHDRAWALS (1)	-944.94	INTEREST EARNED THIS YEAR	52.57
SERVICE CHARGE	0.00		
INTEREST EARNED THIS YR	36.54		
ENDING BALANCE	24,577.68		

CHECKS PAID IN SEQUENCE

CHECK	AMOUNT	DATE	CHECK	AMOUNT	DATE
1129	944.94	06-22			

TRANSACTION DETAILS 060-909

DATE	TRANSACTION	AMOUNT	BALANCE
05-31	BEGINNING BALANCE	486.08	486.08
06-25	NO FLAT CREDIT	25,000.00	25,486.08
06-25	CHECK 1129	-944.94	24,541.14
06-30	INTEREST PAYMENT GENERATED	36.54	24,577.68
	ENDING BALANCE		24,577.68

CPCS 000000028448461
CPCS 000000016700988
1-GEN090063000000087

Exhibit 27

EXHIBIT 28

ALOF
0043

OMB No. 1545-1150

Form **990EZ**Short Form
Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) charitable trust

For organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at end of year.
Note: You may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements. See instruction E.**1990**Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

For the calendar year 1990, or fiscal year beginning

1990, and ending

19

Use IRS label, otherwise, attach print or type.	Name of organization Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.	A Employer identification number (see instruction R2)
	Number, street, and room (if P.O. box number, see instruction R1) 440 First Street, NW, #400	B State registration number(s) (see instruction E)
	City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20001	C If application for exemption is pending, check here <input type="checkbox"/>

D Check type of organization—Exempt under section ☒ 501(c)(3) (insert number), OR ☐ section 4947(a)(1) trust (see instruction C7 and question 42)E Accounting method: ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ☐F Check here ☐ if your gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. You need not file a completed return with IRS; but if you received a Form 990 Package in the mail, you should file a return without financial data (see instructions A4 and B11). Some states require a completed return.G Enter your 1990 gross receipts (add lines 5b, 6b, 7b, and 9): \$
If \$100,000 or more, you must file Form 990 instead of Form 990EZ.**Part I Statement of Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances**

Revenue	1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received (attach schedule—see instructions)	1	97,750
	2 Program service revenue	2	
	3 Membership dues and assessments (see instructions)	3	
	4 Investment income	4	384
	5a Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory	5a	
	b Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses	5b	
	c Gain or (loss) (line 5a less line 5b) (attach schedule)	5c	
	6 Special events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions):		
	a Gross revenue (not including \$ of contributions reported on line 1)	6a	
	b Less: direct expenses	6b	
c Net income or (loss) (line 6a less line 6b)	6c		
7a Gross sales less returns and allowances	7a	160	
b Less: cost of goods sold	7b		
c Gross profit or (loss) (line 7a less line 7b)	7c	160	
8 Other revenue (describe <input type="checkbox"/>)	8		
9 Total revenue (add lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5c, 6c, 7c, and 8)	9	98,294	
Expenses	10 Grants and similar amounts paid (attach schedule)	10	
	11 Benefits paid to or for members	11	
	12 Salaries, other compensation, and employee benefits	12	18,000
	13 Professional fees and other payments to independent contractors	13	5,018
	14 Occupancy, rent, utilities, and maintenance	14	
	15 Printing, publications, postage, and shipping	15	14,593
	16 Other expenses (describe <input type="checkbox"/> Schedule II)	16	105,461
	17 Total expenses (add lines 10 through 16)	17	143,072
Net Assets	18 Excess or (deficit) for the year (line 9 less line 17)	18	(44,778)
	19 Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 27, column (A)) (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	19	1,199
	20 Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)	20	
	21 Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18 through 20) (must agree with line 27, column (B))	21	(43,579)

Part II Balance Sheets—If total assets on line 25, Column (B) are \$250,000 or more, you must file Form 990 instead of Form 990EZ.

	(A) Beginning of year	(B) End of year
22 Cash, savings, and investments	1,199	2,399
23 Land and buildings		
24 Other assets (describe <input type="checkbox"/>)		
25 Total assets	1,199	2,399
26 Total liabilities (describe <input type="checkbox"/> Schedule III)	0	45,978
27 Net assets or fund balances (Column (B) must agree with line 21.)	1,199	(43,579)

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the separate instructions.

Form 990EZ (1990)

Exhibit 28

1.16.90

2758

2758

**Application for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns**
▶ File a separate application for each return.

OMB No 1545-0148
Expires 10-31-92

Please type or
print

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

File the original
and one copy by
the due date for
filing your return.
(See instructions
on back.)

1275 Tremont Place

City, town, state and ZIP code
Denver, CO 80204

Inventory identification number

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

1 An extension of time until November 15, 1991 is requested in which to file (check only one):

<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 991-T (trust other than above)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (9951 taxes)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069

Form 8813 Form 8612 Form 8613 Form 8725 Form 8870

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐

2. For calendar year 1990, or other tax year beginning _____ and ending _____
 a. If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason. ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
 b. Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☒ Yes ☐ No
 4. State in detail why you need the extension: Additional time is required in order to file
a complete and accurate tax return for the year

See if this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 9612, 9613, 9725, or 9804 enter the tentative tax. (see instructions)

b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804 enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any non-refundable payments allowed as a credit. (See instructions.)

e Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD coupon if required. (see instructions)

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ►

Date _____

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)

☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.

☐ Other

Date _____

Gr

.43

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent.

Please Type or Print	Name	Gi
	Number	22

Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.

4. When you have finished, please return the form to the nearest U.S. Post Office.

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 320

City or town state and ZIP code
Washington, DC 20007

Exhibit 28

1-16-90

ALOP
0045

2758

Form **2758**(Rev. November 1989)
Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service**Application for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns**
▶ File a separate application for each return.OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 10-31-92Please type or
print.File the original
and one copy by
the due date for
filing your return.
(See instructions
on back.)Name
Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address)

1275 Tremont Place

City or town, state and ZIP code

Denver, CO 80204

Employer identification number

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

1. An extension of time until November 15, 1991 is requested in which to file (check only one).
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990-EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐

- 2a. For calendar year 19 90, or other tax year beginning and ending .
- b. If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason. ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
3. Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No

4. State in detail why you need the extension. Additional time is required in order to file a complete and accurate tax return for the year.

- 5a. If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804 enter the tentative tax. (See instructions.) 269

- b. If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804 enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. (See instructions.)

- c. Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with EFTB coupon if required. (See instructions.)

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete; and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ▶

ACCAIBB PADate ▶ 8.22.91

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other

Date

By

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent.

Please
Type or
PrintName
Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.

Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address)

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 320

City or town, state and ZIP code

Washington, DC 20007**Exhibit 2B**

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Form 2758 (Rev. 11-89)

1-16-90

0046

2758 1

Form 2758 (Rev. November 1989) Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	Application for Extension of Time To File Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns File a separate application for each return.	OMB No. 1545-0148 Expires 10-31-92
Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.		
Please type or print File the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on back.) Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address): 1275 Tremont Place		
City or town, state and ZIP code Denver, CO 80204		Employer identification number

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.
September 15, 1991

- 1 An extension of time until _____ is requested in which to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐ Yes ☐ No

- 2a For calendar year 19 90, or other tax year beginning _____ and ending _____
- b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

- 3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- 4 State in detail why you need the extension. Additional time is required in order to file a complete and accurate tax return for the year. **IRS RECEIVED**

- 5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804 enter the tentative tax. (see instructions) \$ 6827.91

- b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. (see instructions) \$ _____

- c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a) Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required (see instructions) \$ _____

Signature and Verification **MAU-48**

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ACG Date 6-24-91

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other _____

Date _____ If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent:

Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.	
Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address): 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 320	
City or town, state and ZIP code Washington, DC 20007	Exhibit 28

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Form 2758 (Rev. 11-89)

1-10-90

0047

2758 1

Form 2758

(Rev. December 1989)
Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue ServiceApplication for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

File a separate application for each return.

OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 10-31-92

Please type or print: File the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on back.)	Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc. Number and street or P.O. Box number, if mail is not delivered to street address: 1275 Tremont Place City or town, state and ZIP code: Denver, CO 80204	Employer identification number
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

- 1 An extension of time until July 15, 1991 is requested in which to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐

- 2a For calendar year 19 90, or other tax year beginning and ending
- b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
- 3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No
- 4 State in detail why you need the extension Additional time is required in order to file a complete and accurate tax return for the year.

- 5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804 enter the tentative tax. (See instructions.) \$
- b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804 enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. (See instructions.) \$
- c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a) Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required. (See instructions.) \$

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ACG:128 PA Date 7-23-91 IRS

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other

Date By Director

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent:

Please Type or Print:	Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C. Number and street or P.O. Box number, if mail is not delivered to street address: 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 320 City or town, state and ZIP code: Washington, DC 20007	Exhibit 28
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For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Form 2758 (Rev. 11-89)

7-16-90

0048

2758

Form **2758**(Rev. November 1989)
Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service**Application for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns**

File a separate application for each return.

OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 10-31-92

Please type or print: File the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on back.)	Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc. Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address) 1275 Tremont Place City or town, state and ZIP code Denver, CO 80204	Employer identification number
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.**Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.**

1 An extension of time until July 15, 1991 is requested in which to file (check only one):

<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐

2a For calendar year 19 90, or other tax year beginning and ending

b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No

4 State in detail why you need the extension. Additional time is required in order to file a complete and accurate tax return for the year.

5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804 enter the tentative tax. (See instructions.) 4720

b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804 enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. (See instructions.) APR 2 1991

c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required. (See instructions.)

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete; and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ▶

*ACG: [Signature]*Date ▶ 4-23-91

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other

Date By Director

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent:

Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.	Exhibit 28
Number and street (or P.O. Box number if mail is not delivered to street address) 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 320	
City or town, state and ZIP code Washington, DC 20007	

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Form 2758 (Rev. 11-89)

Form 990EZ (1990) Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

0049

Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments—(See instructions.)

Describe what was achieved in carrying out your exempt purposes. Fully describe the services provided, the number of persons benefited, or other relevant information for each program title. Section 501(c)(3) and (4) organizations must also enter the amount of grants to others.

Expenses
Reported for section 501(c)(3)
and (4) organizations (optional)
for others

28	Production of TV program hotline for citizen participation in community problems	(Grants \$)	143,072
29		(Grants \$)	
30		(Grants \$)	
31	Other program services (attach schedule)	(Grants \$)	
32	Total program service expenses (add lines 28 through 31)		143,072

Part IV List of Officers, Directors, and Trustees (List each one even if not compensated. See instructions.)

(A) Name and address	(B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(C) Compensation (if not paid, enter zero)	(D) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(E) Expense account and other allowances
Howard Callaway Denver, CO	Chairman 20 Hrs./Wk	-0-	-0-	-0-
Kay Riddle Denver, CO	Secretary/Treas. 20 Hrs./Wk	-0-	-0-	-0-

Part V Other Information—Section 501(c)(3) organizations and section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts must also complete and attach Schedule A (Form 990). (See instruction C1.)

	Yes	No
33 Did the organization engage in any activity not previously reported to the Internal Revenue Service? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of each activity.		X
Were any changes made to the organizing or governing documents, but not reported to IRS? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.		X
34 If the organization had income from business activities, such as those reported on lines 2, 6, and 7 (among others), but NOT reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting the income on Form 990-T. Not unrelated business income and less than \$1000		X
a Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?	N/A	X
b If "Yes," have you filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?		X
36 Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year? (See instructions.) If "Yes," attach a statement as described in the instructions.		X
37a Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions. 37a None		N/A
b Did you file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?		X
38a Did you borrow from or make any loans to any officer, director, trustee, or key employee OR were any such loans made in a prior year and still unpaid at the start of the period covered by this return?		X
b If "Yes," attach the schedule specified in the instructions and enter the amount involved. 38a N/A		
39 Section 501(c)(7) organizations.—Enter:		
a Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 9	39a	
b Gross receipts, included on line 9, for public use of club facilities (see instructions)	39b	
c Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion? (see instructions)		
40 List the states with which a copy of this return is filed. District of Columbia, Colorado		
41 The books are in care of The Organization Telephone no. (202) 484-2282		
Located at Page 1		
42 Section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts filing Form 990EZ in lieu of Form 1041, U.S. Fiduciary Income Tax Return.—Check here <input type="checkbox"/>		
and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year 42 142		

Please
Sign

Under penalty of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Signature of officer _____ Date _____ Title _____

Preparer's signature _____ Date 11/14/91 Check if self-employed ☐

Firm's name (or name of self-employed individual) GILBERT & WOLFAND, P.C. ZIP code 20007

2201 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC

Exhibit 28

ALOF
0050

ALOF.TR Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Form 990EZ - 1990

Schedule I - Part I, Line 1 - Contributors Whose Contributions for
 1990 Are \$5,000 or More:

The Family Channel	6/28/90	\$ 22,250	
International Family	10/25/90	25,500	
Entertainment, Inc.			
1000 Certerville Turnpike			\$ 47,750
Virginia Beach, VA 22463			
Amilore Foundation	9/6/90	5,000	
310 South Street			
Morristown, NJ 07960			5,000
Bruce & Nancy Benson	8/23/90	10,000	
21509 Cabrini Blvd			
Golden, CO 80401			10,000
Howard H. Callaway	9/20/90	5,000	
Foundation, Inc.	11/1/90	20,000	
1900 N. Michigan Ave., #520			
Chicago, IL 60611			25,000
RJR Nabisco, Inc.	10/17/90	5,000	
50 New Commerce Blvd.			
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18762			5,000
			\$ 92,750

Exhibit 28

ALOF.TR Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.
Form 990EZ - 1990

Schedule II - Part I, Page 1, Line 16 - Other Expenses:

Bank Charges	\$	58
Graphics		20
Handbook Expenses		159
Interest		757
Licenses & Fees		70
Meals		115
Payroll Taxes		1,812
Photography		50
Production Costs		79,574
Seminars		265
Telephone/Phone Banks		20,737
Travel		1,844
Total Other Expenses	\$	105,461

Schedule III - Part II, page 1, Line 26 - Liabilities:

	Beginning of Year	End of Year
Loan Payable	\$ 0	\$ 45,247
Payroll Taxes Payable	0	731
Total Liabilities	\$ 0	\$ 45,978

Exhibit 28

0052

**SCHEDULE A
(Form 990)**Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service**Organization Exempt Under 501(c)(3)**(Except Private Foundation), 501(a), 501(f), 501(k), or Section 4947(a)(1) Charitable Trust
Supplementary Information
► Attach to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ).

OMB No. 1545-0047

1990

Name

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Employer identification number

Part I Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Employees Other Than Officers, Directors, and Trustees
(See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of employees paid more than \$30,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(e) Expense account and other allowances
None				

Total number of other employees paid over \$30,000 **0****Part II Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Persons for Professional Services**
(See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of persons paid more than \$30,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
None		

Total number of others receiving over \$30,000 for professional services **0****Part III Statements About Activities**Yes
(1) No
(2)

- 1 During the year, have you attempted to influence national, state, or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum?

If "Yes," enter the total expenses paid or incurred in connection with the legislative activities \$

Complete Part VI of this form for organizations that made an election under section 501(h) on Form 5768 or other statement. For other organizations checking "Yes," attach a statement giving a detailed description of the legislative activities and a classified schedule of the expenses paid or incurred.

- 2 During the year, have you, either directly or indirectly, engaged in any of the following acts with a trustee, director, principal officer, or creator of your organization, or any taxable organization or corporation with which such person is affiliated as an officer, director, trustee, majority owner, or principal beneficiary:

a Sale, exchange, or leasing of property?

b Lending of money or other extension of credit?

c Furnishing of goods, services, or facilities?

d Payment of compensation (or payment or reimbursement of expenses if more than \$1,000)?

e Transfer of any part of your income or assets?

If the answer to any question is "Yes," attach a detailed statement explaining the transactions.

- 3 Do you make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.?

- 4 Attach a statement explaining how you determine that individuals or organizations receiving disbursements from you in furtherance of your charitable programs qualify to receive payments. (See specific instructions.)

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ).

Schedule A (Form 990) 1990

Exhibit 28

Schedule A (Form 990) 1990

Part IV Reason for Non-Private Foundation Status (See instructions for definitions.)

The organization is not a private foundation because it is (please check only ONE applicable box):

- 5 ☐ A church, convention of churches, or association of churches. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(i). ALOF
0053

6 ☐ A school. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii). (Also complete Part V, page 3.)

7 ☐ A hospital or a cooperative hospital service organization. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii).

8 ☐ A Federal, state or local government or governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(v).

9 ☐ A medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). Enter name, city, and state of hospital _____

10 ☐ An organization operated for the benefit of a college or university owned or operated by a governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(w). (Also complete Support Schedule.)

11a ☒ An organization that normally receives a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(w). (Also complete Support Schedule.)

11b ☐ A community trust. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete Support Schedule.)

12 ☐ An organization that normally receives: (a) no more than 1/8 of its support from gross investment income and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975, and (b) more than 1/8 of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its charitable, etc., functions—subject to certain exceptions. See section 509(a)(2). (Also complete Support Schedule.)

13 ☐ An organization that is not controlled by any disqualified persons (other than foundation managers) and supports organizations described in: (1) boxes 5 through 12 above; or (2) section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6), if they meet the test of section 509(a)(2). See section 509(a)(3).

Provide the following information about the supported organizations. (See instructions for Part IV, box 13.)

[illegible]

(Continued on page 3)

Exhibit 28

Schedule A (Form 990) 1990 Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Page 3

Part IV Support Schedule (continued) (Complete only if you checked box 10, 11, or 12 on page 2.) N/A**27** Organizations described in box 12, page 2:

- a Attach a list for amounts shown on lines 15, 16, and 17, showing the name of, and total amounts received in each year from, each "disqualified person," and enter the sum of such amounts for each year:

(1989) (1988) (1987) (1986)

- b Attach a list showing, for 1986 through 1989, the name and amount included in line 17 for each person (other than "disqualified persons") from whom the organization received more during that year than the larger of: (1) the amount on line 25 for the year; or (2) \$5,000. Include organizations described in boxes 5 through 11 as well as individuals. Enter the sum of these excess amounts for each year:

(1989) (1988) (1987) (1986)

- 28** For an organization described in box 10, 11, or 12, page 2, that received any unusual grants during 1986 through 1989, attach a list (not open to public inspection) for each year showing the name of the contributor, the date and amount of the grant, and a brief description of the nature of the grant. Do not include these grants in line 15 above. (See specific instructions.)

Part V Private School Questionnaire

(To be completed ONLY by schools that checked box 6 in Part IV) N/A

	Yes (1)	No (2)
29 Do you have a racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students by statement in your charter, bylaws, other governing instrument, or in a resolution of your governing body?		
30 Do you include a statement of your racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students in all your brochures, catalogues, and other written communications with the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?		
31 Have you publicized your racially nondiscriminatory policy through newspaper or broadcast media during the period of solicitation for students, or during the registration period if you have no solicitation program, in a way that makes the policy known to all parts of the general community you serve? If "Yes," please describe: If "No," please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
32 Do you maintain the following:		
a Records indicating the racial composition of the student body, faculty, and administrative staff?		
b Records documenting that scholarships and other financial assistance are awarded on a racially nondiscriminatory basis?		
c Copies of all catalogues, brochures, announcements, and other written communications to the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?		
d Copies of all material used by you or on your behalf to solicit contributions? If you answered "No" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
33 Do you discriminate by race in any way with respect to:		
a Students' rights or privileges?		
b Admissions policies?		
c Employment of faculty or administrative staff?		
d Scholarships or other financial assistance? (See instructions.)		
e Educational policies?		
f Use of facilities?		
g Athletic programs?		
h Other extracurricular activities? If you answered "Yes" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
34a Do you receive any financial aid or assistance from a governmental agency?		
b Has your right to such aid ever been revoked or suspended? If you answered "Yes" to either 34a or b, please explain using an attached separate statement.		
35 Do you certify that you have complied with the applicable requirements of sections 4.01 through 4.05 of Rev. Proc. 75-50, 1975-2 C.B. 587, covering racial nondiscrimination? If "No," attach an explanation. (See instructions for Part V.)		

Exhibit 28

Schedule A (Form 990) 1990 Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Page 4

Part VI Lobbying Expenditures by Public Charities (see instructions)
(To be completed ONLY by an eligible organization that filed Form 5768)

N/A

ALOF
0055Check here ☐ a If the organization belongs to an affiliated group (see instructions).
Check here ☐ b If you checked a and "limited control" provisions apply (see instructions).

Limits on Lobbying Expenses		(a) Affiliated group total	(b) To be completed for ALL electing organizations
36 Total (grassroots) lobbying expenses to influence public opinion	36		
37 Total lobbying expenses to influence a legislative body	37		
38 Total lobbying expenses (add lines 36 and 37)	38		
39 Other exempt purpose expenses (see Part VI instructions)	39		
40 Total exempt purpose expenses (add lines 38 and 39) (see instructions)	40		
41 Lobbying nontaxable amount. Enter the smaller of \$1,000,000 or the amount determined under the following table—			
If the amount on line 40 is—	The lobbying nontaxable amount is—		
Not over \$500,000	20% of the amount on line 40		
Over \$500,000 but not over \$1,000,000	\$100,000 plus 15% of the excess over \$500,000	41	
Over \$1,000,000 but not over \$1,500,000	\$175,000 plus 10% of the excess over \$1,000,000		
Over \$1,500,000	\$225,000 plus 5% of the excess over \$1,500,000		
42 Grassroots nontaxable amount (enter 25% of line 41)	42		
(Complete lines 43 and 44. File Form 4720 if either line 36 exceeds line 42 or line 38 exceeds line 41.)			
43 Excess of line 36 over line 42	43		
44 Excess of line 38 over line 41	44		

4-Year Averaging Period Under Section 501(h)

(Some organizations that made a section 501(h) election do not have to complete all of the five columns below. See the instructions for lines 45–50 for details.)

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	Lobbying Expenses During 4-Year Averaging Period				
	(a) 1990	(b) 1989	(c) 1988	(d) 1987	(e) Total
45 Lobbying nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
46 Lobbying ceiling amount (150% of line 45(e))					
47 Total lobbying expenses (see instructions)					
48 Grassroots nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
49 Grassroots ceiling amount (150% of line 48(e))					
50 Grassroots lobbying expenses (see instructions)					

Exhibit 28

ALOF
0057

ALOF990A.TR

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

1990 - 990EZ Schedule A

Line 26(b) - Contributors Whose Gifts for 1986 through 1989 Exceeded the

Amount Shown on Line 26a - \$843:

Hal Krause	12/16/86	\$ 2,500	
		<u>2,500</u>	
			\$ 5,000
Howard H. Callaway Foundation	2/9/87	\$ 5,000	
	2/24/88	3,548	
	5/27/88	<u>3,082</u>	
			11,630
Bruce & Mary Benson	2/24/88	\$ 7,000	
	6/17/86	<u>5,000</u>	
			12,000
Colorado Republican Committee	6/3/86		4,500
LePrino Foods Co.	5/9/86		2,500
			<u>\$ 35,630</u>
			=====

Exhibit 28

990EZ

Short Form

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) charitable trust

For organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at the end of the year.

You may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

1991

This Form is
Open to Public
Inspection

Department of the Treasury

Internal Revenue Service

A For the calendar year 1991 or fiscal year beginning

, 1991, and ending

19

Please use IRS 3010 or prior or type. See Specific Instruc- tions.	B Name of organization Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation	C Employer identification number
	D State registration number	
	E Enter four-digit group exemption number (GEN)	

F Check type of organization—Exempt under section 501(c)(3) (insert number), OR section 4947(a)(1) trust

G Check ☐ if exemption application pending.H Accounting method ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ☐ I Check ☐ if address changed.J Check ☐ if your gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. You need not file a completed return with IRS; but if you received a Form 990 Package in the mail you should file a return without financial data. Some states require a completed return.K Enter your 1991 gross receipts (add back lines 5b, 6b, and 7b, to line 8) \$
If \$100,000 or more, you must file Form 990 instead of Form 990EZ.

Part I Statement of Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

Revenue	1 Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received (attach schedule—see instructions) Sch. I	1	48,950
	2 Program service revenue	2	
	3 Membership dues and assessments (see instructions)	3	
	4 Investment income	4	108
	5a Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory	5a	
	b Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses	5b	
	c Gain or (loss) (line 5a less line 5b) (attach schedule)	5c	
	6 Special events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions):		
	a Gross revenue (not including \$ of contributions reported on line 1)	6a	
	b Less: direct expenses	6b	
c Net income or (loss) (line 6a less line 6b)	6c		
7a Gross sales less returns and allowances	7a		
b Less: cost of goods sold	7b		
c Gross profit or (loss) (line 7a less line 7b)	7c		
8 Other revenue (describe)	8		
9 Total revenue (add lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5c, 6c, 7c, and 8)	9	49,058	
Expenses	10 Grants and similar amounts paid (attach schedule) Schedule II	10	2,501
	11 Benefits paid to or for members	11	
	12 Salaries, other compensation, and employee benefits	12	
	13 Professional fees and other payments to independent contractors	13	
	14 Occupancy, rent, utilities, and maintenance	14	
	15 Printing, publications, postage, and shipping	15	
	16 Other expenses (describe) Schedule III	16	30,339
	17 Total expenses (add lines 10 through 16)	17	32,839
Net Assets	18 Excess or (deficit) for the year (line 9 less line 17)	18	16,219
	19 Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 27, column (A)) (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	19	(43,579)
	20 Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)	20	
	21 Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18 through 20) (must agree with line 27, column (B))	21	(27,360)
	22 Balance Sheets—If Total assets on line 25, column (B) are \$250,000 or more, you must file Form 990 instead of Form 990EZ.		

22 Cash, savings, and investments

23 Land and buildings

24 Other assets (describe)

25 Total assets

26 Total liabilities (describe) Schedule IV

27 Net assets or fund balances (column (B) must agree with line 21)

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the separate instructions.

Cat. No. 10642

Form 990EZ (1991)

ALOF
0058

1/24/92 1,240A

Exhibit 28

2758 (Rev. 11-91)	Application for Extension of Time to File Certain Estate, Income, Information, and Other Returns		Expires 10-31-92 ALOF 0059
a. If the taxpayer is an individual: File a separate application for each return.			
Name of the taxpayer (See instructions on back.)	Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc. Number and street or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address 440 First Street, NW City, town, or post office state and ZIP code for foreign address, see instructions Washington, DC 20001		Apt. or suite no. 400 Employer identification number

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

1. An extension of time until December 15, 1992 is requested in which to file (check only one):

<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990-EZ	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725
<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-MD (9851 issues)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8088	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐

2a. For calendar year 19 91, or other tax year beginning and ending

b. If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

3. Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☒ Yes ☐ No

4. State in detail why you need the extension: Additional time is needed to gather the information necessary to file a complete and accurate return.

5a. If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-MD, 4720, 8088, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.)

b. If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit.

c. Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required. (See instructions.)

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature AC Gilbert Date 11-11-92

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

☐ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)

☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.

☒ Other WE CANNOT CONSIDER YOUR APPLICATION BECAUSE YOU HAVE BEEN GRANTED THE MAXIMUM TIME PERIOD.

Date By

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent.

Please Type or Print	Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C. Number and street or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW City, town, or post office state and ZIP code for foreign address, see instructions Washington, DC 20007	Apt. or suite no. 320
----------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form. Cal. No. 118768 Form 2758 (Rev. 8-91)

Exhibit 28

911/91 2,441

2758
(Rev. June 1991)

**Application for Extension of Time To
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns**

OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 10-31-92

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

File a separate application for each return.

**ALOF
0060**

Indicate type of
return. File the
original and one
copy by the due
date for filing
your return. (See
instructions on
back.)

Name

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address)

440 First Street, NW

Apt. or suite no.

400

City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions)
Washington, DC 20001

Employer identification number

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8738 to request an extension of time to file.

November 15, 1992

1 An extension of time until _____ is requested in which to file (check only one):

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8089 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |

If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

2a For calendar year 19__91__ or other tax year beginning _____ and ending _____

b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

4 State in detail why you need the extension.

Additional time is needed to gather the information necessary to file a complete and accurate return.

5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.) \$ _____

b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit \$ _____

c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required. (See instructions.) \$ _____

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete; and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature *Dore D. Edelman CPA* Date *8/24/92*

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)

☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.

☐ Other _____

Date

FSC 22

By _____

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent.

Name
Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.

Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address)

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW

Apt. or suite no.

320

City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions)

Washington, DC 20007

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cat. No. 119768

Form 2758 (Rev. 8-91)

Exhibit 28

8/1/92 2,441

Form 2758

(Rev. June 1991)

Application for Extension of Time to File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other ReturnsOMB No. 1545-0148
EAGP: 10-31-92Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

File a separate application for each return.

Please type or print. Fill in the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on back.)

Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.	ALOF 0061
Number and street for P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address 440 First Street, NW	Apt. or suite no. 400
City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions) Washington, DC 20001	
Employer identification number	

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

- September 15, 1992
- 1 An extension of time until is requested in which to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990-EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |
- If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐ Yes ☐ No
- 2a For calendar year 1991, or other tax year beginning and ending
- b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
- 3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- 4 State in detail why you need the extension. Additional time is needed to gather the information necessary to file a complete and accurate return.

- 5a If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.) \$
- b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. \$
- c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD. \$
- Coupon if required. (See instructions.) \$

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature of Shirley B. Edelman, CPA Date 9/15/92

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent.

Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.	ALOF 0061
Number and street for P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW	Apt. or suite no. 320
City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions) Washington, DC 20007	

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cat No 118768

Form 2758 (Rev. 6-91)

Exhibit 28 2.441

Form **2758**

(Rev. June 1981)

Application for Extension of Time to File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

Expires: 10-31-82

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

File a separate application for each return.

Please type or print. File the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on back.)	Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.		Apt. or suite no. 400
	Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address) 440 First Street, NW		
	City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions) Washington, DC 20001		

ALOF
0062

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those that file Form 990-T) must use Form 8738 to request an extension of time to file.

1. An extension of time until July 15, 1992 is requested in which to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8512 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS (T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8513 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8068 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |
- If organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**
- 2a. For calendar year 19 91, or other tax year beginning and ending
- b. If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
3. Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No
4. State in detail why you need the extension. Additional time is needed to gather the information necessary to file a complete and accurate return.

- 5a. If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(T), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8512, 8513, 8725, or 8804, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.) \$ _____
- b. If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. \$ _____
- c. Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD Coupon if required. (See instructions.) \$ _____

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature *June A. Edelman, CPA* Date 4/6/92

File original and one copy. IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.)
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. (Please attach this form to your return.) However, because of your reasons stated above, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or due date of your return, whichever is later. This 10-day grace period is considered a valid extension of time for purposes of elections otherwise required to be made on timely filed returns.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering your reasons stated above, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. (We are not granting the 10-day grace period.)
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of your return.
- ☐ Other _____

If the copy of this form is to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address where the copy should be sent:

Please Type or Print	Name Gilbert & Wolfand, P.C.	
	Number and street (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address) 2201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW	
	City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code (for foreign address, see instructions) Washington, DC 20007	

Apt. or suite no.
320

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cat. No. 119768

Form 2758 (Rev. 6-81)

Exhibit 28

0111701 2,441

Form 990EZ (1997) Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation Page 2

Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments—(See instructions.)

Describe what was achieved in carrying out your exempt purposes. Fully describe the services provided, the number of persons benefited, or other relevant information for each program title.

28	29	30	31	32	Expenses
Production of TV program hotline for citizen participation in community problems	(Grants \$)	(Grants \$)	(Grants \$)	(Grants \$)	(Amount for 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) trusts; allocate for others.)
					30,339
					ALOF 0063
31 Other program services (attach schedule)					
32 Total program service expenses (add lines 28 through 31)					30,339

Part IV List of Officers, Directors, and Trustees (List each one even if not compensated. See instructions.)

(A) Name and address	(B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(C) Compensation (if not paid, enter zero)	(D) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(E) Expense account and other allowances
Howard Callaway	Chairman			
Denver CO	20 Hrs./Wk	-0-	-0-	-0-
Key Riddle	Secretary/Treas.			
Denver CO	20 Hrs./Wk	-0-	-0-	-0-

Part V Other Information—Section 501(c)(3) organizations and section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts must also complete and attach Schedule A (Form 990). (See instruction C1.)

33	Yes	No
Did the organization engage in any activity not previously reported to the Internal Revenue Service?		X
If "Yes," attach a detailed description of each activity.		
34 Were any changes made to the organizing or governing documents but not reported to IRS?		X
If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.		
35 If the organization had income from business activities, such as those reported on lines 2, 6, and 7 (among others), but NOT reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting the income on Form 990-T.		
a Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?		X
b If "Yes," have you filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?		N/A
36 Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year? (See instructions.)		X
If "Yes," attach a statement as described in the instructions.		
37a Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions.	37a	None
b Did you file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?		N/A
38a Did you borrow from, or make any loans to, any officer, director, trustee, or key employee, OR were any such loans made in a prior year and still unpaid at the start of the period covered by this return?		X
b If "Yes," attach the schedule specified in the instructions and enter the amount involved	38b	N/A
39 Section 501(c)(7) organizations—Enter:		
a Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 9	39a	
b Gross receipts, included on line 9, for public use of club facilities (see instructions)	39b	
c Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion? (See instructions.)		
40 List the states with which a copy of this return is filed.		District of Columbia, Colorado
41 The books are in care of		The Organization
Located at		Page 1
42 Section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts filing Form 990EZ in lieu of Form 1041, U.S. Fiduciary Income Tax Return—Check here		
and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year		42

Please Sign Here

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Signature of officer Key M. Riddle Date 13-5-93 Title Secretary/Treasurer

Paid Preparer's Signature ACGILLES CPA Date 3/3/93 Check if self-employed ☐

Name of preparer's firm GILBERT & WOLFAND, P.C. ZIP code 20007

1e Only Firm's name (or yours if self-employed) and address 2201 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC

Exhibit 28

SCHEDULE A
(Form 990)
Organization Exempt Under 501(c)(3)
 (Except Private Foundation, 501(c)(3), 501(c)(29), or Section 4947(a)(1) Charitable Trust
 Supplementary Information

OMB No. 1545-0047

1991

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

▶ Attach to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ).

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

Employer identification number

Part I Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Employees Other Than Officers, Directors, and Trustees
 (See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of employees paid more than \$30,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(e) Expense account and other allowances
None				ALOF 0065
Total number of other employees paid over \$30,000 ▶	-0-			

Part II Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Persons for Professional Services
 (See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of persons paid more than \$30,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
Name.....		
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Part III Statements About Activities

- 1 During the year, have you attempted to influence national, state, or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum?
 If "Yes," enter the total expenses paid or incurred in connection with the legislative activities. \$
 Organizations that made an election under section 501(b)(1) by filing Form 5768 must complete Part VI-A. For other organizations checking "Yes," attach a statement giving a detailed description of the legislative activities AND either complete Part VI-B or attach a classified schedule of the expenses paid or incurred.
- 2 During the year, have you, either directly or indirectly, engaged in any of the following acts with a trustee, director, principal officer, or creator of your organization, or any taxable organization or corporation with which such person is affiliated as an officer, director, trustee, majority owner, or principal beneficiary:
- a Sale, exchange, or leasing of property?
 b Lending of money or other extension of credit?
 c Furnishing of goods, services, or facilities?
 d Payment of compensation (or payment or reimbursement of expenses if more than \$1,000)?
 e Transfer of any part of your income or assets?
 If the answer to any question is "Yes," attach a detailed statement explaining the transactions.
- 3 Do you make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.?
 4 Attach a statement explaining how you determine that individuals or organizations receiving grants or loans from you in furtherance of your charitable programs qualify to receive payments. (See specific instructions.)

	Yes	No
1		X
2a		X
2b		X
2c		X
2d		X
2e		X
3		X
4		

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ).

Cat. No. 11285F

Schedule A (Form 990) 1991

Exhibit 28

2/2/92 1,193

Part IV Reason for Non-Private Foundation Status (See instructions for definitions.)

The organization is not a private foundation because it is (please check only ONE applicable box):

- 5 ☐ A church, convention of churches, or association of churches. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(i). ALOF 0086
- 6 ☐ A school. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii). (Also complete Part V, page 3.)
- 7 ☐ A hospital or a cooperative hospital service organization. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii).
- 8 ☐ A Federal, state, or local government or governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iv).
- 9 ☐ A medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(v). Enter name, city, and state of hospital: _____
- 10 ☐ An organization operated for the benefit of a college or university owned or operated by a governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 11a ☒ An organization that normally receives a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vii). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 11b ☐ A community trust. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(viii). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 12 ☐ An organization that normally receives: (a) no more than 1/3 of its support from gross investment income and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975, and (b) more than 1/3 of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its charitable, etc., functions—subject to certain exceptions. See section 509(a)(2). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 13 ☐ An organization that is not controlled by any disqualified persons (other than foundation managers) and supports organizations described in: (1) boxes 5 through 12 above; or (2) section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6), if they meet the test of section 509(a)(2). See section 509(a)(3).

Provide the following information about the supported organizations. (See instructions for Part IV, box 13.)

(a) Name(s) of supported organization(s)	(b) Box number from above

- 14
- ☐
- An organization organized and operated to test for public safety. Section 509(a)(4). (See specific instructions.)

Support Schedule (Complete only if you checked box 10, 11, or 12 above.) Use cash method of accounting.

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in)	(a) 1990	(b) 1989	(c) 1988	(d) 1987	(e) Total
15 Gifts, grants, and contributions received. (Do not include unusual grants. See line 28.)	97,750	-0-	13,630	8,032	119,412
16 Membership fees received					
17 Gross receipts from admissions, merchandise sold or services performed, or furnishing of facilities in any activity that is not a business unrelated to the organization's charitable, etc., purpose	160				160
18 Gross income from interest, dividends, amounts received from payments on securities loans (section 512(a)(5)), rents, royalties, and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 taxes) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975	384	57	12	-0-	453
19 Net income from unrelated business activities not included in line 18					
20 Tax revenues levied for your benefit and either paid to you or expended on your behalf					
21 The value of services or facilities furnished to you by a governmental unit without charge. Do not include the value of services or facilities generally furnished to the public without charge					
22 Other income. Attach schedule. Do not include gain or (loss) from sale of capital assets					
23 Total of lines 15 through 22	98,294	57	13,642	8,032	120,025
24 Line 23 minus line 17	98,134	57	13,642	8,032	119,865
25 Enter 1% of line 23	983	1	136	80	
26 Organizations described in box 10 or 11: a Enter 2% of amount in column (a), line 24 b Attach a list (not open to public inspection) showing the name and amount contributed by each person (other than a governmental unit or publicly supported organization) whose total gifts for 1987 through 1990 exceeded the amount shown in line 26a. Enter the sum of all excess amounts here					2,397
					99,395

(Continued on page 3)

Part IV Support Schedule (continued) (Complete only if you checked box 10, 11, or 12 on page 2.) N/A**27** Organizations described in box 12, page 2:

- a Attach a list for amounts shown on lines 15, 16, and 17, showing the name of, and total amounts received in each year from, each "disqualified person," and enter the sum of such amounts for each year:

(1990) (1989) (1988) (1987)

ALOF
0067

- b Attach a list showing, for 1987 through 1990, the name and amount included in line 17 for each person (other than "disqualified persons") from whom the organization received more during that year than the larger of: (1) the amount on line 25 for the year; or (2) \$5,000. Include organizations described in boxes 5 through 11 as well as individuals. Enter the sum of these excess amounts for each year:

(1990) (1989) (1988) (1987)

- 28** For an organization described in box 10, 11, or 12, page 2, that received any unusual grants during 1987 through 1990, attach a list (not open to public inspection) for each year showing the name of the contributor, the date and amount of the grant, and a brief description of the nature of the grant. Do not include these grants in line 15 above. (See specific instructions.)

Part V Private School Questionnaire
(To be completed ONLY by schools that checked box 6 in Part IV) N/A

	Yes	No
29 Do you have a racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students by statement in your charter, bylaws, other governing instrument, or in a resolution of your governing body?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30 Do you include a statement of your racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students in all your brochures, catalogues, and other written communications with the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31 Have you publicized your racially nondiscriminatory policy through newspaper or broadcast media during the period of solicitation for students, or during the registration period if you have no solicitation program, in a way that makes the policy known to all parts of the general community you serve? If "Yes," please describe: If "No," please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32 Do you maintain the following:		
a Records indicating the racial composition of the student body, faculty, and administrative staff?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Records documenting that scholarships and other financial assistance are awarded on a racially nondiscriminatory basis?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Copies of all catalogues, brochures, announcements, and other written communications to the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Copies of all material used by you or on your behalf to solicit contributions? If you answered "No" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33 Do you discriminate by race in any way with respect to:		
a Students' rights or privileges?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Admissions policies?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Employment of faculty or administrative staff?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Scholarships or other financial assistance? (See instructions.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Educational policies?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Use of facilities?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Athletic programs?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Other extracurricular activities? If you answered "Yes" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34a Do you receive any financial aid or assistance from a governmental agency?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34b Has your right to such aid ever been revoked or suspended? If you answered "Yes" to either 34a or b, please explain using an attached separate statement.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35 Do you certify that you have complied with the applicable requirements of sections 4.01 through 4.05 of Rev. Proc. 75-50, 1975-2 C.B. 587, covering racial nondiscrimination? If "No," attach an explanation. (See instructions for Part V.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Exhibit 28

2/3/92 1,195

Schedule A (Form 990) 1991 Abraham L. Wein Opportunity Foundation

Page 4

Part VII-A Lobbying Expenditures by Electing Public Charities (see instructions)
(To be completed ONLY by an eligible organization that filed Form 5768)

N/A

ALOF
0068Check here ☐ a ☐ if the organization belongs to an affiliated group (see instructions).Check here ☐ b ☐ if you checked a and "limited control" provisions apply (see instructions).

Limits on Lobbying Expenses		(d) Affiliated group totals	(b) To be completed for ALL electing organizations
36	Total (grassroots) lobbying expenses to influence public opinion	36	
37	Total lobbying expenses to influence a legislative body	37	
38	Total lobbying expenses (add lines 36 and 37)	38	
39	Other exempt purpose expenses (see Part VI instructions)	39	
40	Total exempt purpose expenses (add lines 38 and 39) (see instructions)	40	
41	Lobbying nontaxable amount. Enter the smaller of \$1,000,000 or the amount determined under the following table—		
If the amount on line 40 is—			
Not over \$500,000 20% of the amount on line 40			
Over \$500,000 but not over \$1,000,000 . . . \$100,000 plus 15% of the excess over \$500,000		41	
Over \$1,000,000 but not over \$1,500,000 . . . \$175,000 plus 10% of the excess over \$1,000,000			
Over \$1,500,000 \$225,000 plus 5% of the excess over \$1,500,000		42	
42	Grassroots nontaxable amount (enter 25% of line 41). (Complete lines 43 and 44. File Form 4720 if either line 38 exceeds line 42 or line 39 exceeds line 41.)		
43	Excess of line 36 over line 42	43	
44	Excess of line 38 over line 41	44	

4-Year Averaging Period Under Section 501(h)(Some organizations that made a section 501(h) election do not have to complete all of the five columns below.
See the instructions for lines 45-50 for details.)

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) ▶	Lobbying Expenses During 4-Year Averaging Period				
	(a) 1991	(b) 1990	(c) 1989	(d) 1988	(e) Total
45 Lobbying nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
46 Lobbying ceiling amount (150% of line 45(e))					
47 Total lobbying expenses (see instructions)					
48 Grassroots nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
49 Grassroots ceiling amount (150% of line 48(e))					
50 Grassroots lobbying expenses (see instructions)					

Part VII-B Lobbying Activity by Nonelecting Public Charities

(For optional reporting by organizations that did not complete Part VI-A.)

During the year, did you attempt to influence national, state or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum, through the use of:		Yes	No	Amount
a	Volunteers			
b	Paid staff or management (include compensation in expenses reported on lines c through h)			
c	Media advertisements			
d	Mailings to members, legislators, or the public			
e	Publications or published or broadcast statements			
f	Grants to other organizations for lobbying purposes			
g	Direct contact with legislators, their staffs, government officials, or a legislative body			
h	Rallies, demonstrations, seminars, conventions, speeches, lectures, or any other means			
Total lobbying expenses (add lines c through h).				

If "Yes" to any of the above, also attach a statement giving a detailed description of the activities.

51 Did the reporting organization directly or indirectly engage in any of the following with any other organization described in section 501(c) of the Code (other than section 501(c)(3) organizations) or in section 527, relating to political organizations?

- a. Transfers from the reporting organization to a noncharitable exempt organization of:

	Yes	No
51a(i)		X
a(ii)		X
b(i)		X
b(ii)		X
b(iii)		X
b(iv)		X
b(v)		X
b(vi)		X
c		X

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---|
| (i) Cash | 51a(i) | X |
| (ii) Other assets | a(ii) | X |
| b Other Transactions: | | |
| (i) Sales of assets to a noncharitable exempt organization | b(i) | X |
| (ii) Purchases of assets from a noncharitable exempt organization | b(ii) | X |
| (iii) Rental of facilities or equipment | b(iii) | X |
| (iv) Reimbursement arrangements | b(iv) | X |
| (v) Loans or loan guarantees | b(v) | X |
| (vi) Performance of services or membership or fundraising solicitations | b(vi) | X |
| c Sharing of facilities, equipment, mailing lists or other assets, or paid employees | c | X |
| d If the answer to any of the above is "Yes," complete the following schedule. The "Amount involved" column below should always indicate the fair market value of the goods, other assets, or services given by the reporting organization. If the organization received less than fair market value in any transaction or sharing arrangement, indicate in column (d) the value of the goods, other assets, or services received. | | |

[illegible]

ALOF
0069

- 52a** Is the organization directly or indirectly affiliated with, or related to, one or more tax-exempt organizations

b If "Yes," complete the following schedule. ☐ Yes ☒ No

[illegible]

Exhibit 28

ALOF
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Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Inc.

1991 - 990EZ Schedule A

Line 26(b) - Contributors Whose Gifts for 1987 through 1990 Exceeded the

 Amount Shown on Line 26a - \$2,397:

Family Channel	6/28/90	\$ 22,250	
	10/25/90	25,500	
		-----	\$ 47,750
Howard H. Callaway Foundation	2/9/87	\$ 5,000	
	2/24/88	3,548	
	5/27/88	3,082	
	9/20/90	5,000	
	11/1/90	20,000	
		-----	36,630
Bruce & Mary Benson	2/24/88	\$ 7,000	
	8/23/90	10,000	
		-----	17,000
Amilore Foundation	9/6/90		5,000
RJR Nabisco, Inc.	10/17/90		5,000

			\$ 111,380

Exhibit 28

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

**This Form is
Open to Public
Inspection**

OFFICE OF THE TROOPERS
ON BUSINESS SERVICES

For the calendar year 1992, or fiscal year beginning

1992 and ending	19
-----------------	----

ALOF
0072

Form 990EZ (1992)

Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments (see instructions)		Expenditures
Describe what was achieved in carrying out the organization's exempt purposes. Fully describe the services provided, the number of persons benefited, or other relevant information for each program title.		(Indicate for 501(c)(3) organizations and 408(a) plans whether for each program)
28	PRODUCTION OF TV PROGRAMS, RTVINE FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY PROBLEMS	70000
29		
30		
31	Other program services (attach schedule)	11
32	Total program service expenditures (add lines 28 through 31)	70000

Part IV List of Officers, Directors, Trustees, and Key Employees (List each one even if not compensated. See instructions)				
(A) Name and address	(B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(C) Compensation (If not paid, enter "0")	(D) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(E) Expense account and other benefits
HOWARD CALLAWAY DENVER CO	CHAIRMAN	20 HRS/WK	0	0
KAY RIDDLE DENVER CO	SECRETARY/TREAS.	20 HRS/WK	0	0

Part V Other Information—Section 501(c)(3) organizations and section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts must also complete and attach Schedule A (Form 990). (See General Instruction D1.)		Yes
33	Did the organization engage in any activity not previously reported to the Internal Revenue Service? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of each activity.	
34	Were any changes made to the organizing or governing documents but not reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.	
35	If the organization had income from business activities, such as those reported on lines 2, 6, and 7 (among others), but NOT reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting the income on Form 990-T.	
a	Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year covered by this return?	
b	If "Yes," has it filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?	NP
36	Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year? (See instructions.) If "Yes," attach a statement as described in the instructions.	
37a	Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions. ▶	37a: NONE
b	Did the organization file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?	N/A
38a	Did the organization borrow from, or make any loans to, any officer, director, trustee, or key employee, OR were any such loans made in a prior year and still unpaid at the start of the period covered by this return?	
b	If "Yes," attach the schedule specified in the instructions and enter the amount involved	38b: N/A
39	Section 501(c)(7) organizations.—Enter:	
a	Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 9	39a: N/A
b	Gross receipts, included on line 9, for public use of club facilities (see instructions).	39b: N/A
c	Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion? (If "Yes," attach statement see instructions.)	N/A
40	List the states with which a copy of this return is filed. ▶	
41	The books are in care of ▶ THE FOUNDATION Telephone no. ▶ (303) 844-2541	
	Located at ▶ 1900 GRANT ST - #250 DENVER CO ZIP code ▶ 80202	
42	Section 4947(a)(1) charitable trusts filing Form 990EZ in lieu of Form 1041, U.S. Fiduciary Income Tax Return.—Check here ▶ and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year ▶ 142	

Please Sign Here	Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.		
	Signature of officer	Date	Title
Paid Preparer's Use Only	Preparer's signature	Date	Check if self-employed
	Firm's name (or yours if self-employed)	ZIP code	

Exhibit 28

1/6

11/12/93

NEWBILL & CO. PC

80222

ALOF
0073SCHEDULE A
(Form 990)

Organization Exempt Under Section 501(c)(3)

(Except Private Foundations, 501(c)(6), 501(k), or Section 4947(a)(1) Charitable Trust
Supplementary Information

OMB No. 1545-0047

1992

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

▶ Attach to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ)

Employer identification number

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION

Part I Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Employees Other Than Officers, Directors, and Trustees
(See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of employee paid more than \$30,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans	(e) Expense account and other allowances
NONE				

Total number of other employees paid over \$30,000 ▶

0

Part II Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Persons for Professional Services
(See specific instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of persons paid more than \$30,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
NONE		

Total number of others receiving over \$30,000 for professional services ▶

0

Part III Statements About Activities

Yes No

- 1 During the year, has the organization attempted to influence national, state, or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum?

If "Yes," enter the total expenses paid or incurred in connection with the lobbying activities. \$ N/A

Organizations that made an election under section 501(h) by filing Form 5768 must complete Part VI-A. Other organizations checking "Yes," must complete Part VI-B AND attach a statement giving a detailed description of the lobbying activities.

- 2 During the year, has the organization, either directly or indirectly, engaged in any of the following acts with any of its trustees, directors, principal officers, or creators, or with any taxable organization or corporation with which any such person is affiliated as an officer, director, trustee, majority owner, or principal beneficiary:

- a Sale, exchange, or leasing of property?
- b Lending of money or other extension of credit?
- c Furnishing of goods, services, or facilities?
- d Payment of compensation (or payment or reimbursement of expenses if more than \$1,000)?
- e Transfer of any part of its income or assets?

If the answer to any question is "Yes," attach a detailed statement explaining the transactions.

- 3 Does the organization make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.?

- 4 Attach a statement explaining how the organization determines that individuals or organizations receiving grants or loans from it in furtherance of its charitable programs qualify to receive payments. (See specific instructions.)

1	Yes	No
		✓
2a	✓	
2b	✓	
2c	✓	
2d	✓	
2e	✓	
3	✓	
4		

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the Instructions to Form 990 (or Form 990EZ).

CAL No. 11285F Schedule A (Form 990) 1992

Exhibit 28

Schedule A (Form 990) 1992

Page 2

Part IV Reason for Non-Private Foundation Status (See instructions for definitions.)

The organization is not a private foundation because it is (please check only ONE applicable box):

- 5 ☐ A church, convention of churches, or association of churches. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(i).
- 6 ☐ A school. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii). (Also complete Part V, page 3.)
- 7 ☐ A hospital or a cooperative hospital service organization. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii).
- 8 ☐ A Federal, state, or local government or governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iv).
- 9 ☐ A medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii). Enter name, city, and state of hospital: _____
- 10 ☐ An organization operated for the benefit of a college or university owned or operated by a governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iv). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 11a ☒ An organization that normally receives a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 11b ☐ A community trust. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 12 ☐ An organization that normally receives: (a) no more than 1/3 of its support from gross investment income and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975, and (b) more than 1/3 of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its charitable, etc., functions—subject to certain exceptions. See section 509(a)(2). (Also complete Support Schedule.)
- 13 ☐ An organization that is not controlled by any disqualified persons (other than foundation managers) and supports organizations described in: (1) boxes 5 through 12 above; or (2) section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6), if they meet the test of section 509(a)(2). (See section 509(a)(3).)

Provide the following information about the supported organizations. (See instructions for Part IV, box 13.)

(a) Name(s) of supported organization(s)	(b) Box number from above

- 14 ☐ An organization organized and operated to test for public safety. Section 509(a)(4). (See specific instructions.)

Support Schedule (Complete only if you checked box 10, 11, or 12 above.) Use cash method of accounting.

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in)	(a) 1991	(b) 1990	(c) 1989	(d) 1988	(e) Total
15 Gifts, grants, and contributions received. (Do not include unusual grants. See line 28.)	429,530	977,500	0	136,330	1,603,330
16 Membership fees received					
17 Gross receipts from admissions, merchandise sold or services performed, or furnishing of facilities in any activity that is not a business unrelated to the organization's charitable, etc., purpose		160			160
18 Gross income from interest, dividends, amounts received from payments on securities loans (section 512(a)(5)), rents, royalties, and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975.	108	384	57	12	561
19 Net income from unrelated business activities not included in line 18					
20 Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to it or expended on its behalf					
21 The value of services or facilities furnished to the organization by a governmental unit without charge. Do not include the value of services or facilities generally furnished to the public without charge.					
22 Other income. Attach schedule. Do not include gain or (loss) from sale of capital assets.					
23 Total of lines 15 through 22	490,588	982,994	57	136,422	1,610,051
24 Line 23 minus line 17	490,588	982,994	57	136,422	1,608,911
25 Enter 1% of line 23	4,906	9,830	6	1,364	16,051

26 Organizations described in box 10 or 11:

a Enter 2% of amount in column (e), line 24

b Attach a list (not open to public inspection) showing the name of and amount contributed by each person (other than a governmental unit or publicly supported organization) whose total gifts for 1988 through 1991 exceeded the amount shown in line 25a. Enter the sum of all excess amounts here

3218

134,072

(Continued on page 3)

Part IV Support Schedule (continued) (Complete only if you checked box 10, 11, or 12 on page 2.)**27** Organizations described in box 12, page 2:

a Attach a list for amounts shown on lines 15, 16, and 17, showing the name of, and total amounts received in each year from each "disqualified person," and enter the sum of such amounts for each year:

(1991) N/A (1990) (1989) (1988)

b Attach a list showing, for 1988 through 1991, the name of, and amount included in line 17 for, each person (other than a "disqualified person") from whom the organization received more during that year than the larger of: (1) the amount on line 25 for the year or (2) \$5,000. Include organizations described in boxes 5 through 11 as well as individuals. Enter the sum of these excess amounts for each year:

(1991) N/A (1990) (1989) (1988)

28 For an organization described in box 10, 11, or 12, page 2, that received any unusual grants during 1988 through 1991, attach a list (not open to public inspection) for each year showing the name of the contributor, the date and amount of the grant, and a brief description of the nature of the grant. Do not include these grants in line 15. (See specific instructions.) NONE

Part V Private School Questionnaire

(To be completed **ONLY** by schools that checked box 6 in Part IV) N/A

	Yes	No
29 Does the organization have a racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students by statement in its charter, bylaws, other governing instrument, or in a resolution of its governing body?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30 Does the organization include a statement of its racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students in all its brochures, catalogues, and other written communications with the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31 Has the organization publicized its racially nondiscriminatory policy through newspaper or broadcast media during the period of solicitation for students, or during the registration period if it has no solicitation program, in a way that makes the policy known to all parts of the general community it serves? If "Yes," please describe: If "No," please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32 Does the organization maintain the following:		
a Records indicating the racial composition of the student body, faculty, and administrative staff?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Records documenting that scholarships and other financial assistance are awarded on a racially nondiscriminatory basis?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Copies of all catalogues, brochures, announcements, and other written communications to the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Copies of all material used by the organization or on its behalf to solicit contributions? If you answered "No" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33 Does the organization discriminate by race in any way with respect to:		
a Students' rights or privileges?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Admissions policies?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c Employment of faculty or administrative staff?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d Scholarships or other financial assistance? (See instructions.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Educational policies?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f Use of facilities?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g Athletic programs?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Other extracurricular activities? If you answered "Yes" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34a Does the organization receive any financial aid or assistance from a governmental agency?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Has the organization's right to such aid ever been revoked or suspended? If you answered "Yes" to either 34a or b, please explain using an attached statement.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35 Does the organization certify that it has complied with the applicable requirements of sections 4.01 through 4.05 of Rev. Proc. 75-50, 1975-2 C.B. 587 covering racial nondiscrimination? If "No," attach an explanation (See instructions for Part V.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Exhibit 28

ALOF
0076

Schedule A (Form 990) 1992

Page 4

Part VI-A Lobbying Expenditures by Electing Public Charities (see instructions)
(To be completed ONLY by an eligible organization that filed Form 5768)

N/A

Check here ☐ a ☐ If the organization belongs to an affiliated group (see instructions).Check here ☐ b ☐ If you checked a and "limited control" provisions apply (see instructions).**Limits on Lobbying Expenditures**

("Expenditures" means amounts paid or incurred)

(a) Affiliated group totals (b) To be completed for ALL electing organizations

36	Total lobbying expenditures to influence public opinion (grassroots lobbying)	36	
37	Total lobbying expenditures to influence a legislative body (direct lobbying)	37	
38	Total lobbying expenditures (add lines 36 and 37)	38	
39	Other exempt purpose expenditures (see Part VI-A instructions)	39	
40	Total exempt purpose expenditures (add lines 38 and 39) (see instructions)	40	
41	Lobbying nontaxable amount. Enter the amount from the following table—		
	If the amount on line 40 is—		The lobbying nontaxable amount is—
	Not over \$500,000		20% of the amount on line 40
	Over \$500,000 but not over \$1,000,000		\$100,000 plus 15% of the excess over \$500,000
	Over \$1,000,000 but not over \$1,500,000		\$175,000 plus 10% of the excess over \$1,000,000
	Over \$1,500,000 but not over \$17,000,000		\$225,000 plus 5% of the excess over \$1,500,000
	Over \$17,000,000		\$1,000,000
42	Grassroots nontaxable amount (enter 25% of line 41)	42	
43	Subtract line 42 from line 36. Enter -0- if line 42 is more than line 36.	43	
44	Subtract line 41 from line 38. Enter -0- if line 41 is more than line 38.	44	

Caution: File Form 4720 if there is an amount on either line 43 or line 44.

4-Year Averaging Period Under Section 501(h)

(Some organizations that made a section 501(h) election do not have to complete all of the five columns below. See the instructions for lines 45-50 for details.)

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in)		Lobbying Expenditures During 4-Year Averaging Period				
		(a) 1992	(b) 1991	(c) 1990	(d) 1989	(e) Total
45	Lobbying nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
46	Lobbying ceiling amount (150% of line 45(e))					
47	Total lobbying expenditures (see instructions)					
48	Grassroots nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
49	Grassroots ceiling amount (150% of line 48(e))					
50	Grassroots lobbying expenditures (see instructions)					

Part VI-B Lobbying Activity by Nonelecting Public Charities
(For reporting by organizations that did not complete Part VI-A.)

N/A

During the year, did the organization attempt to influence national, state or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum, through the use of:

	Yes	No	Amount
a Volunteers			
b Paid staff or management (include compensation in expenses reported on lines c through h)			
c Media advertisements			
d Mailings to members, legislators, or the public			
e Publications or published or broadcast statements			
f Grants to other organizations for lobbying purposes			
g Direct contact with legislators, their staffs, government officials, or a legislative body			
h Rallies, demonstrations, seminars, conventions, speeches, lectures, or any other means			
i Total lobbying expenditures (add lines c through h)			

If "Yes" to any of the above, also attach a statement giving a detailed description of the lobbying activities.

Exhibit 2B

ALOF
0078

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION, INC.

1992 FORM 990EZ

SCHEDULE I

PART I - LINE 1 - CONTRIBUTORS WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR
1992 ARE \$5,000 OR MORE

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY	1/17/92	15,000
FOUNDATION, INC.	2/10/92	10,000
P.O. BOX 1510	3/30/92	20,000
COLUMBUS, GA 31904		
R. RICHARDSON TRUST		
983 PARK AVE. - #14A	4/24/92	25,000
NEW YORK, NY 10028		
HENDERSON FOUNDATION		
1608 W. MAIN ST.	12/28/92	10,000
MARSHALLTOWN, IOWA 50158		
		<u>80,000</u>

SCHEDULE II

PART I - LINE 16 - OTHER EXPENSES

PRODUCTION COSTS	70,000
BANK CHARGES	7
	<u>70,007</u>

SCHEDULE III

PART II - LINE 26 - TOTAL LIABILITIES

	BEGINNING OF YEAR	END OF YEAR
LOAN PAYABLE	27,747	27,747
PAYROLL TAXES PAYABLE	731	731
	<u>28,478</u>	<u>28,478</u>

Exhibit 28

ALOF
0079

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION, INC.

1992 FORM 990EZ
SCHEDULE A (FORM 990)

SCHEDULE IV

PART IV - LINE 26b - CONTRIBUTORS WHOSE GIFTS FOR 1988 THROUGH
1991 EXCEEDED THE AMOUNT SHOWN ON
LINE 26b - \$3,218

FAMILY CHANNEL	6/28/90	22,250	
	10/25/90	<u>25,500</u>	47,750
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY FOUNDATION	2/24/88	3,548	
	5/27/88	3,082	
	9/20/90	5,000	
	11/01/90	20,000	
	8/22/91	<u>10,000</u>	41,630
BRUCE & MARY BENSON	2/24/88	7,000	
	8/23/90	<u>10,000</u>	17,000
AMILORE FOUNDATION	9/06/90		5,000
RJR NABISCO, INC.	10/17/90		5,000
CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE	8/02/91		<u>37,000</u>
			<u>153,380</u>

Exhibit 28

Form **2758**
(Rev. August 1992)**Application for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns**ALOF
0080OMB No. 1545-0146
Expires 5-31-95Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

▶ File a separate application for each return.

See type of
return. Fill in the
original and one
copy by the due
date for filing
your return. (See
instructions on
back.)Name
ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
Number and street, (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address.)
1900 GRANT STREET
City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. (For a foreign address, see instructions.)
DENVER CO 80203

Employer identification number

Apt. or suite no.

850

11-15-93

Note: Taxpayers who file a corporation income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those filing Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

1. An extension of time until OCTOBER 15, 19 93, is requested to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS(D) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GS(T) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |

If the organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box. ☐

- 2a. For calendar year 19 92, or other tax year beginning and ending
- b. If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
3. Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No
4. State in detail why you need the extension. TAXPAYER HAS CHANGED ACCOUNTANTS AND MOVED ITS OFFICES TO DENVER. ADDITIONAL TIME IS NEEDED TO COMPILE THE INFORMATION TO FILE A COMPLETE AND ACCURATE RETURN

- 5a. If this form is for Form 706GS(D), 706GS(M), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8804, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.) \$ _____
- b. If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. \$ _____
- c. Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD coupon if required. (See instructions.) \$ _____

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete; and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature ▶ John L. Newbill Title ▶ C.P.A. Date ▶ 8/12/93

FILE ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY. The IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by the IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. Please attach this form to your return.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. However, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the later of the date shown below or the due date of your return (including any prior extensions). This grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for elections otherwise required to be made on a timely return. Please attach this form to your return.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering the reasons stated in item 4, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. We are not granting the 10-day grace period.
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of the return for which an extension was requested.
- ☒ Other: 40 days an act

Director

or

082793

Date

If you want a copy of this form to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address to which the copy should be sent.

Name
NEWBILL & Co., P.C.

Number and street, (or P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address.)
950 WANSWORTH BLVD. #306

City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. (For a foreign address, see instructions.)
LAKEWOOD, CO 80215

Apt. or suite no.
Exhibit 28

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cal. No. 119768

Form 2758 (Rev. 5-92)

0081

Form **2758**
(Rev. August 1992)Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service**Application for Extension of Time to File**

Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

File a separate application for each return.

OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 5-31-93

Name of filer Name of the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. (See instructions on the next page.)	Name Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation Address and street, for P.O. box use, if mail is not delivered to post office. 440 First Street, NW City, town, or post office, state, and ZIP code. (Use a foreign address, too, if necessary.) Washington, DC 20001	Employer identification number Apt. or room no. 400
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------

Notice: Taxpayers who file a corporate income tax return, including Forms 990-C, 990-T, and 1120S, must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file.

Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those filing Form 990-T) must use Form 8738 to request an extension of time to file.

1 An extension of time until **JULY 15, 1993**

<input type="checkbox"/> Form 7060320 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 7060321 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990EZ <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-1041 (or 1041-1042) <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (except those that report Form 1041 (except those instructions)) <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (1991) (used)	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8083	<input type="checkbox"/> Form 8812 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8813 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8304
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

If the organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box ☐ Yes ☐ No

2a For calendar year 19 **92**, or other tax year beginning ☐ and ending ☐

3 If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period

4 Same in detail why you need the extension. **ADDITIONAL TIME IS NEEDED TO GATHER THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO FILE A COMPLETE AND ACCURATE RETURN** ☐ Yes ☒ No

5a If this form is for Form 7060320, 7060321, 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (except 1042, 1120-ND, 4720,

8083, 8612, 8613, 8725, or 8304, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. (See instructions.)

5b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (except 1042, or 8304, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit.

5c Balance due (subtract line 5b from line 5a). Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD

unless if required. (See instructions.)

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete; and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature **ACG** Title **CFA** RECEIVED POSTMARK APR 23 1993 Date **4/21/93**

FILE ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY. The IRS will show below whether your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant - To Be Completed by the IRS **APR 23 1993**

☒ We HAVE approved your application. Please attach this form to your return.

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. However, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the date shown below or the due date of your return. (Including any prior extension.) The grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for electronic otherwise required to be made on a timely return. Please attach this form to your return.

☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering the reasons stated in item 4, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. We are not granting the 10-day grace period.

☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of the return for which an extension was requested.

☐ Other **2**

APR 11 1993

RECEIVED

APR 23 1993

APR 15 1993

APR 11 1993

APR 11 1993

APR 11 1993

APR 11 1993

APR 11 1993

APR 11 1993

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APR 11 1993

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the next page.

Form 2758 (Rev. 8-92)

500071 1.000

Exhibit 28

TITUS © 93

Form **990-EZ**

Short Form

Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax

Under Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code (except black lung benefit trust or private foundation) or section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

For organizations with gross receipts less than \$100,000 and total assets less than \$250,000 at the end of the year.

The organization may have to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

1993

This Form Is
Open to Public
Inspection

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

A For the 1993 calendar year, OR tax year beginning

, 1993, and ending

, 19

B Check if:

- ☐ Initial return
- ☐ Final return
- ☐ Amended return
- ☐ Change of address

Passer
use IRS
label or
print or
type.
See
Specific
Instructions.

C Name of organization

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION

Number and street (or P.O. box, if mail is not delivered to street address)

1900 GRANT ST

Room/suite

850

City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code

DENVER, CO 80202

D Employer identification number

E State registration number

F Check ☐ If exemption application is pending

H Enter four-digit group exemption number (GEN)

G Accounting method: ☒ Cash ☐ Accrual ☐ Other (specify) ▶

I Type of organization: ☒ Exempt under Section 501(c) (3) (Insert number) OR ☐ Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust

Note: Section 501(c)(3) organizations and 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts MUST attach a completed Schedule A (Form 990).

J Check ☐ If the organization's gross receipts are normally not more than \$25,000. The organization need not file a return with the IRS; but if the organization received a Form 990 Package in the mail, the organization should file a return without financial data. Some states require a complete return.

K Enter the organization's 1993 gross receipts (add back lines 5b, 6b, and 7b, to line 9) ▶ \$ 44968

If \$100,000 or more, the organization must file Form 990 instead of Form 990-EZ.

Part I Statement of Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

Revenue	1	Contributions, gifts, grants, and similar amounts received (attach schedule—see instructions)	1	44968
	2	Program service revenue including government fees and contracts	2	
	3	Membership dues and assessments (see instructions)	3	
	4	Investment income	4	148
	5a	Gross amount from sale of assets other than inventory	5a	
	5b	Less: cost or other basis and sales expenses	5b	
	5c	Gain or (loss) from sale of assets other than inventory (line 5a less line 5b) (attach schedule)	5c	
	6	Special events and activities (attach schedule—see instructions):		
	6a	Gross revenue (not including \$ of contributions reported on line 1)	6a	
Expenses	6b	Less: direct expenses other than fundraising expenses	6b	
	6c	Net income or (loss) from special events and activities (line 6a less line 6b)	6c	
	7a	Gross sales of inventory, less returns and allowances	7a	
	7b	Less: cost of goods sold	7b	
	7c	Gross profit or (loss) from sales of inventory (line 7a less line 7b)	7c	
	8	Other revenue (describe ▶)	8	
	9	Total revenue (add lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5c, 6c, 7c, and 8)	9	44968
	10	Grants and similar amounts paid (attach schedule)	10	
	11	Benefits paid to or for members	11	
Net Assets	12	Salaries, other compensation, and employee benefits	12	9384
	13	Professional fees and other payments to independent contractors	13	520
	14	Occupancy, rent, utilities, and maintenance	14	
	15	Printing, publications, postage, and shipping	15	
	16	Other expenses (describe ▶ SCH. II)	16	18179
	17	Total expenses (add lines 10 through 16)	17	29083
	18	Excess or (deficit) for the year (line 9 less line 17)	18	16885
	19	Net assets or fund balances at beginning of year (from line 27, column (A)) (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	19	(17156)
	20	Other changes in net assets or fund balances (attach explanation)	20	
21	Net assets or fund balances at end of year (combine lines 18 through 20)	21	(271)	

Part II Balance Sheets—If Total assets on line 25, column (B) are \$250,000 or more, Form 990 must be filed instead of Form 990-EZ.

	(A) Beginning of year	(B) End of year
22 Cash, savings, and investments	7287	460
23 Land and buildings		
24 Other assets (describe ▶ OVERPAID PAYROLL TAXES RECEIVABLE)	4035	
25 Total assets	11322	460
26 Total liabilities (describe ▶ SCH. III)	28478	731
27 Net assets or fund balances (line 27 of column (B) must agree with line 21)	(17156)	(271)

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the separate instructions.

Cat. No. 10642-78 Evh. 121 Form 990-EZ (1989)

Form 990-EZ (1993)

Part III Statement of Program Service Accomplishments—(see instructions)		Expenses (Required for 501(c)(3) and 4947(a)(1) trusts; optional for others.)
Describe what was achieved in carrying out the organization's exempt purposes. Fully describe the services provided, the number of persons benefited, or other relevant information for each program title.		
PRODUCTION OF TV PROGRAM HOTLINE FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY PROBLEMS		
(Grants \$ 16038)		16038
29	(Grants \$)	
30	(Grants \$)	
31 Other program services (attach schedule)	(Grants \$)	
32 Total program service expenses (add lines 28 through 31)		16038

Part IV List of Officers, Directors, Trustees, and Key Employees (List each one even if not compensated. See instructions.)				
(A) Name and address	(B) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(C) Compensation (If not paid, enter -0-)	(D) Contributions to employee benefit plans & deferred compensation	(E) Expense account and other allowances
HOWARD CALLAWAY DENVER CO	CHAIRMAN 20 HRS./WK	0	0	0
KAY KIBBLE DENVER CO	SECY. / TREAS. 20 HRS./WK	9384	0	0

Part V Other Information		Yes	No
33 Did the organization engage in any activity not previously reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of each activity.	Were any changes made to the organizing or governing documents but not reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes.		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
If the organization had income from business activities, such as those reported on lines 2, 6, and 7 (among others), but NOT reported on Form 990-T, attach a statement explaining your reason for not reporting the income on Form 990-T.			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
a During the year covered by this return, did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more or incur liability for the section 6033(e) tax on lobbying and political expenditures?			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
b If "Yes," has it filed a tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return, for this year?		N/A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
36 Was there a liquidation, dissolution, termination, or substantial contraction during the year? If "Yes," attach a statement, see instructions.			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
37a Enter amount of political expenditures, direct or indirect, as described in the instructions. ▶ 37a	NONE		N/A
b Did the organization file Form 1120-POL, U.S. Income Tax Return for Certain Political Organizations, for this year?			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
38a Did the organization borrow from, or make any loans to, any officer, director, trustee, or key employee OR were any such loans made in a prior year and still unpaid at the start of the period covered by this return?			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
b If "Yes," attach the schedule specified in the instructions and enter the amount involved ▶ 38b		N/A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
39 Section 501(c)(7) organizations—Enter:			
a Initiation fees and capital contributions included on line 9 ▶ 39a		N/A	
b Gross receipts, included on line 9, for public use of club facilities (see instructions). ▶ 39b		N/A	
c Does the club's governing instrument or any written policy statement provide for discrimination against any person because of race, color, or religion? (If "Yes," attach statement; see instructions.)			N/A
40 List the states with which a copy of this return is filed. ▶			
41 The books are in care of ▶ THE FOUNDATION	Telephone no. ▶ (303) 344-0502		
Located at ▶ 1900 GRANT ST. #250 DENVER CO	ZIP code ▶ 80202		
42 Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts filing Form 990-EZ in lieu of Form 1041, U.S. Fiduciary Income Tax Return—Check here ▶			<input type="checkbox"/>
and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the tax year ▶ 42			

Please Sign	Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than officer) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.			
	Signature of officer	Date	Title	Check if self-employed <input type="checkbox"/>
Preparer's Use Only	Preparer's signature	Date	Preparer's social security no.	E.I. No. ▶
	NEWBILL & CO. P.C.	10/14/94	4991 INDEPENDENCE ST., WHEAT RIDGE, CO	ZIP code ▶ 80033

Printed on recycled paper

Exhibit 28

GPO : 1994 O - 345-180

SCHEDULE A
(Form 990)
Organization Exempt Under Section 501(c)(3)

 (Except Private Foundation), and Section 501(c), 501(f), 501(k),
 or Section 4947(a)(1) Nonsupport Charitable Trust

Supplementary Information

 U.S. GOVT. PRINTING OFFICE
 1953

 Department of the Treasury
 Internal Revenue Service

Must be completed by the above organizations and attached to their Form 990 for 990-EZ.

Name of the organization

Employer identification number

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
Part I Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Employees Other Than Officers, Directors, and Trustees
 (See instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of each employee paid more than \$30,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans & deferred compensation	(e) Expense account and other allowances
NONE				

Total number of other employees paid over \$30,000

0

Part II Compensation of the Five Highest Paid Persons for Professional Services
 (See instructions.) (List each one. If there are none, enter "None.")

(a) Name and address of each person paid more than \$30,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
NONE		

Total number of others receiving over \$30,000 for professional services

0

Part III Statements About Activities

Yes No

- During the year, has the organization attempted to influence national, state, or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum?
 If "Yes," enter the total expenses paid or incurred in connection with the lobbying activities. \$ N/A
 Organizations that made an election under section 501(h) by filing Form 5768 must complete Part VI-A. Other organizations checking "Yes," must complete Part VI-B AND attach a statement giving a detailed description of the lobbying activities.
- During the year, has the organization, either directly or indirectly, engaged in any of the following acts with any of its trustees, directors, officers, creators, key employees, or members of their families, or with any taxable organization with which any such person is affiliated as an officer, director, trustee, majority owner, or principal beneficiary:
 - Sale, exchange, or leasing of property? 2a ☒
 - Lending of money or other extension of credit? 2b ☒
 - Furnishing of goods, services, or facilities? 2c ☒
 - Payment of compensation (or payment or reimbursement of expenses if more than \$1,000)? 2d ☒ SEE FORM 990-EZ-101-11-11
 - Transfer of any part of its income or assets? 2e ☒
 If the answer to any question is "Yes," attach a detailed statement explaining the transactions.
- Does the organization make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.? 3 ☒
- Attach a statement explaining how the organization determines that individuals or organizations receiving grants or loans from it in furtherance of its charitable programs qualify to receive payments. (See instructions.)

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see page 1 of the instructions to Form 990 (or Form 990-EZ). Cat. No. 11285F Schedule A (Form 990) 1993

Exhibit 28

Part IV Reason for Non-Private Foundation Status (See instructions for definitions.)

The organization is not a private foundation because it is (please check only ONE applicable box):

- 5 ☐ A church, convention of churches, or association of churches. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(i).
- 6 ☐ A school. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(ii). (Also complete Part V, page 3.)
- 7 ☐ A hospital or a cooperative hospital service organization. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii).
- 8 ☐ A Federal, state, or local government or governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iv).
- 9 ☐ A medical research organization operated in conjunction with a hospital. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(iii). Enter the hospital's name, city, and state: _____
- 10 ☐ An organization operated for the benefit of a college or university owned or operated by a governmental unit. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(v). (Also complete the Support Schedule below.)
- 11a ☒ An organization that normally receives a substantial part of its support from a governmental unit or from the general public. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete the Support Schedule below.)
- 11b ☐ A community trust. Section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi). (Also complete the Support Schedule below.)
- 12 ☐ An organization that normally receives: (a) no more than 1/4 of its support from gross investment income and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 tax) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975, and (b) more than 1/4 of its support from contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts from activities related to its charitable, etc., functions—subject to certain exceptions. See section 509(a)(2). (Also complete the Support Schedule below.)
- 13 ☐ An organization that is not controlled by any disqualified persons (other than foundation managers) and supports organizations described in: (1) lines 5 through 12 above; or (2) section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6), if they meet the test of section 509(a)(2). (See section 509(a)(3).)

Provide the following information about the supported organizations. (See instructions for Part IV, line 13.)

(a) Name(s) of supported organization(s)	(b) Line number from above

- 14 ☐ An organization organized and operated to test for public safety. Section 509(a)(4). (See instructions.)

Support Schedule (Complete only if you checked a box on lines 10, 11, or 12 above.) Use cash method of accounting.

Notes: You may use the worksheet in the instructions for converting from the accrual to the cash method of accounting.

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning on) ▶	(a) 1992	(b) 1991	(c) 1990	(d) 1989	(e) Total
15 Gifts, grants, and contributions received. (Do not include unusual grants. See line 28.)	20000	42950	97750	5	226700
16 Membership fees received					
17 Gross receipts from admissions, merchandise sold or services performed, or furnishing of facilities in any activity that is not a business unrelated to the organization's charitable, etc., purpose			160		160
18 Gross income from interest, dividends, amounts received from payments on securities loans (section 512(a)(5)), rents, royalties, and unrelated business taxable income (less section 511 taxes) from businesses acquired by the organization after June 30, 1975.	211	108	384	57	760
19 Net income from unrelated business activities not included in line 18					
20 Tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to it or expended on its behalf					
21 The value of services or facilities furnished to the organization by a governmental unit without charge. Do not include the value of services or facilities generally furnished to the public without charge.					
22 Other income. Attach a schedule. Do not include gain or (loss) from sale of capital assets.					
23 Total of lines 15 through 22.	80211	49058	98244	57	227620
24 Line 23 minus line 17.	80211	49058	98134	57	227460
25 Enter 1% of line 23	802	491	983		
26 Organizations described in lines 10 or 11:					
a Enter 2% of amount in column (e), line 24					4549
b Attach a list (which is not open to public inspection) showing the name of and amount contributed by each person (other than a governmental unit or publicly supported organization) whose total gifts for 1989 through 1992 exceeded the amount shown in line 25a. Enter the sum of all these excess amounts here. <u>\$64,319</u>					183358

(Support Schedule continued on page 3)

Exhibit 28

Part IV Support Schedule (continued) (Complete only if you checked a box on lines 10, 11, or 12.)**27** Organizations described on line 12:

- a Attach a list, for amounts shown on lines 15, 16, and 17, to show the name of, and total amounts received in each year from, each "disqualified person." Enter the sum of such amounts for each year:

(1992) N/A (1991) (1990) (1989)

- b Attach a list to show, for 1989 through 1992, the name of, and amount included in line 17 for, each person (other than a "disqualified person") from whom the organization received, during that year, an amount that was more than the larger of (1) the amount on line 25 for the year or (2) \$5,000. Include organizations described in lines 5 through 11, as well as individuals. After computing the difference between the amount received and the larger amount described in (1) or (2), enter the sum of all these differences (the excess amounts) for each year:

(1992) N/A (1991) (1990) (1989)

- 28** For an organization described in line 10, 11, or 12, that received any unusual grants during 1989 through 1992, attach a list (which is not open to public inspection) for each year showing the name of the contributor, the date and amount of the grant, and a brief description of the nature of the grant. Do not include these grants in line 15. (See instructions.) NONE

Part V Private School Questionnaire

(To be completed **ONLY** by schools that checked the box on line 6 in Part IV) N/A

	Yes	No
29 Does the organization have a racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students by statement in its charter, bylaws, other governing instrument, or in a resolution of its governing body?		
30 Does the organization include a statement of its racially nondiscriminatory policy toward students in all its brochures, catalogues, and other written communications with the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?		
31 Has the organization publicized its racially nondiscriminatory policy through newspaper or broadcast media during the period of solicitation for students, or during the registration period if it has no solicitation program, in a way that makes the policy known to all parts of the general community it serves? If "Yes," please describe; if "No," please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
32 Does the organization maintain the following:		
a Records indicating the racial composition of the student body, faculty, and administrative staff?		
b Records documenting that scholarships and other financial assistance are awarded on a racially nondiscriminatory basis?		
c Copies of all catalogues, brochures, announcements, and other written communications to the public dealing with student admissions, programs, and scholarships?		
d Copies of all material used by the organization or on its behalf to solicit contributions? If you answered "No" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
33 Does the organization discriminate by race in any way with respect to:		
a Students' rights or privileges?		
b Admissions policies?		
c Employment of faculty or administrative staff?		
d Scholarships or other financial assistance? (See instructions.)		
e Educational policies?		
f Use of facilities?		
g Athletic programs?		
h Other extracurricular activities? If you answered "Yes" to any of the above, please explain. (If you need more space, attach a separate statement.)		
34a Does the organization receive any financial aid or assistance from a governmental agency?		
34b Has the organization's right to such aid ever been revoked or suspended? If you answered "Yes" to either 34a or b, please explain using an attached statement.		
35 Does the organization certify that it has complied with the applicable requirements of sections 4.01 through 4.05 of Rev. Proc. 75-50, 1975-2 C.B. 587, covering racial nondiscrimination? If "No," attach an explanation. (See instructions for Part V.)		

Exhibit 28

Schedule A (Form 990) 1993

Page 4

Part VI-A Lobbying Expenditures by Electing Public Charities (See instructions.)
(To be completed **ONLY** by an eligible organization that filed Form 5768)

N/A

Check here ☐ a ☐ If the organization belongs to an affiliated group (see instructions).
 Check here ☐ b ☐ If you checked a and "limited control" provisions apply (see instructions).

Limits on Lobbying Expenditures

(The term "expenditures" means amounts paid or incurred)

	(a) Affiliated group totals	(b) To be completed for ALL electing organizations
36 Total lobbying expenditures to influence public opinion (grassroots lobbying)	36	
37 Total lobbying expenditures to influence a legislative body (direct lobbying)	37	
38 Total lobbying expenditures (add lines 36 and 37)	38	
39 Other exempt purpose expenditures (see Part VI-A instructions)	39	
40 Total exempt purpose expenditures (add lines 38 and 39) (see instructions)	40	
41 Lobbying nontaxable amount. Enter the amount from the following table— If the amount on line 40 is— The lobbying nontaxable amount is—		
Not over \$500,000 20% of the amount on line 40		
Over \$500,000 but not over \$1,000,000 \$100,000 plus 15% of the excess over \$500,000	41	
Over \$1,000,000 but not over \$1,500,000 \$175,000 plus 10% of the excess over \$1,000,000		
Over \$1,500,000 but not over \$17,000,000 \$225,000 plus 5% of the excess over \$1,500,000		
Over \$17,000,000 \$1,000,000		
42 Grassroots nontaxable amount (enter 25% of line 41)	42	
43 Subtract line 42 from line 36. Enter -0- if line 42 is more than line 36 .	43	
44 Subtract line 41 from line 38. Enter -0- if line 41 is more than line 38 .	44	

Caution: File Form 4720 if there is an amount on either line 43 or line 44.

4-Year Averaging Period Under Section 501(h)

(Some organizations that made a section 501(h) election do not have to complete all of the five columns below.
 See the instructions for lines 45 through 50.)

Calendar year (or fiscal year beginning in) \rightarrow	Lobbying Expenditures During 4-Year Averaging Period				
	(a) 1993	(b) 1992	(c) 1991	(d) 1990	(e) Total
45 Lobbying nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
46 Lobbying ceiling amount (150% of line 45(e))					
47 Total lobbying expenditures (see instructions)					
48 Grassroots nontaxable amount (see instructions)					
49 Grassroots ceiling amount (150% of line 48(e))					
50 Grassroots lobbying expenditures (see instructions)					

Part VI-B Lobbying Activity by Nonelecting Public Charities
(For reporting by organizations that did not complete Part VI-A)

N/A

During the year, did the organization attempt to influence national, state or local legislation, including any attempt to influence public opinion on a legislative matter or referendum, through the use of:

	Yes	No	Amount
a Volunteers			
b Paid staff or management (include compensation in expenses reported on lines c through h)			
c Media advertisements			
d Mailings to members, legislators, or the public			
e Publications, or published or broadcast statements			
f Grants to other organizations for lobbying purposes			
g Direct contact with legislators, their staffs, government officials, or a legislative body			
h Rallies, demonstrations, seminars, conventions, speeches, lectures, or any other means			
i Total lobbying expenditures (add lines c through h)			

If "Yes" to any of the above, also attach a statement giving a detailed description of the lobbying activities.

Exhibit 28

ALOF
0089

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION, INC.

1993 FORM 990EZ

SCHEDULE I

PART I - LINE 1 - CONTRIBUTORS WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR
1993 ARE \$5,000 OR MORE

GOPAC		
440 FIRST STREET NW		
SUITE 400		
WASHINGTON, DC 20001	12/6/93	43,785
(FORGIVENESS OF DEBT DUE		
BY FOUNDATION TO GOPAC		
FOR 1990 TV PRODUCTION		
EXPENSES)		

SCHEDULE II

PART I - LINE 16 - OTHER EXPENSES

PRODUCTION COSTS	16,038
BANK CHARGES	33
INTEREST EXPENSE	6
OFFICE EXPENSES	492
TAXES AND FEES	174
TELEPHONE	62
TRAVEL	1,374
	<u>18,179</u>

SCHEDULE III

PART II - LINE 26 - OTHER LIABILITIES

	BEGINNING OF YEAR	END OF YEAR
LOAN PAYABLE	27,747	-
PAYROLL TAXES PAYABLE	731	731
	<u>28,478</u>	<u>731</u>

Exhibit 28

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION, INC.

1993 FORM 990EZ
SCHEDULE A (FORM 990)

SCHEDULE IV

PART IV - LINE 26b - CONTRIBUTORS WHOSE GIFTS FOR 1989 THROUGH
1992 EXCEEDED THE AMOUNT SHOWN ON LINE
26b - \$4,549

FAMILY CHANNEL	6/28/90	22,250	
	10/25/90	25,500	47,750
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY FOUNDATION	9/20/90	5,000	
	11/01/90	20,000	
	8/22/91	10,000	
	1/17/92	15,000	
	2/10/92	10,000	
	3/30/92	20,000	80,000
BRUCE & MARY BENSON	8/23/90		10,000
AMILORE FOUNDATION	9/06/90		5,000
RJR NABISCO, INC.	10/17/90		5,000
CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE	8/02/91		37,000
R. RICHARDSON TRUST	4/24/92		25,000
HENDERSON FOUNDATION	12/28/92		10,000

Exhibit 28

443
2758
Form 7758
(Rev. July 1993)Application for Extension of Time To File
Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

0091

OMB No. 1545-0148
Expires 5-31-95Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

File a separate application for each return.

Name ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION	Employer identification number
Number and street for P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address; 1900 GRANT ST	AOL or suite no. 850
City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions. DENVER CO 80202	

Note: Corporate income tax return filers must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file. Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those filing Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

- 1 An extension of time until AUGUST 15, 19 94, is requested to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GSD | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042-S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8831 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706GSM | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4851 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8512 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8513 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990-EZ | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | | |

If the organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box. ☐

- 2a For calendar year 19 93, or other tax year beginning and ending
 b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period
 3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No
 4 State in detail why you need the extension: ADDITIONAL TIME IS NEEDED TO ANALYZE CERTAIN ACCOUNTS AND COMPILE THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO FILE A COMPLETE AND ACCURATE RETURN

- 5a If this form is for Form 706GSD, 706GSM, 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8512, 8513, 8725, 8804, or 8831, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. See instructions. \$
 b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made. Include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. \$
 c Balance due. Subtract line 5b from line 5a. Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD coupon if required. See instructions. \$ NONE

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature Toni L. Newbill Title C.P.A. Date 5/10/94
 FILE ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY: The IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by the IRS

- ☒ We HAVE approved your application. Please attach this form to your return.
☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. However, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the later of the date shown below or the due date of your return (including any prior extensions). This grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for elections otherwise required to be made on a timely return. Please attach this form to your return.
☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering the reasons stated in , we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. We are not granting the 10-day grace period.
☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of the return for which an extension was requested.

By Charles O. Felt Date
 Director

If you want a copy of this form to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address to which the copy should be sent:

Name TONI L. NEWBILL	AOL or suite no. 1235
Number and street for P.O. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address; 4891 INDEPENDENCE ST	
City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions. WHEAT RIDGE CO 80033-6714	Exhibit 28

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cat. No 11876B

Form 2758 Rev 7-93

Form 2758

(Rev. July 1983)

Application for Extension of Time to File Certain Excise, Income, Information, and Other Returns

OMB No. 1545-0148

Expires 5-31-85

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

File a separate application for each return.

Please type or print. Fill in the original and one copy by the due date for filing your return. See instructions on back.	Name ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION	Employer identification number
	Number and street for P.C. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address: 1900 GRANT STREET	AOL or suite no. 250
	City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions. DENVER CO 80203	

Note: Corporate income tax return filers must use Form 7004 to request an extension of time to file. Partnerships, REMICs, and trusts (except those filing Form 990-T) must use Form 8736 to request an extension of time to file.

- 1 An extension of time until OCTOBER 5, 19 94, is requested to file (check only one):
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706(GSD) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (401(a) or 408(a) trust) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042-S | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 6069 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8831 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 706(GST) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-T (trust other than above) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1120-ND (4951 taxes) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8612 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990 or 990-E | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041 (estate) (see instructions) | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 3520-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8613 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-BL | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1041-A | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 4720 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8725 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Form 990-PF | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 1042 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 5227 | <input type="checkbox"/> Form 8804 | |

If the organization does not have an office or place of business in the United States, check this box. ☐

- 2a For calendar year 19 93, or other tax year beginning and ending
- b If this tax year is for less than 12 months, check reason: ☐ Initial return ☐ Final return ☐ Change in accounting period ☒ Yes ☐ No
- 3 Has an extension of time to file been previously granted for this tax year? ☐ Yes ☒ No
- 4 State in detail why you need the extension: EXPIRY WILL BE FILING A FINAL RETURN. ADDITIONAL TIME IS NECESSARY TO COMPILE AND RECONCILE THE INFORMATION TO FILE A COMPLETE AND ACCURATE RETURN.

- 5a If this form is for Form 706(GSD), 706(GST), 990-BL, 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, 1120-ND, 4720, 6069, 8612, 8613, 8725, 8804, or 8831, enter the tentative tax, less any nonrefundable credits. See instructions. \$ _____
- b If this form is for Form 990-PF, 990-T, 1041 (estate), 1042, or 8804, enter any refundable credits and estimated tax payments made, include any prior year overpayment allowed as a credit. \$ _____
- c Balance due. Subtract line 5b from line 5a. Include your payment with this form, or deposit with FTD coupon if required. See instructions. \$ _____

Signature and Verification

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this form, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete, and that I am authorized to prepare this form.

Signature = John L. Newbill Title = Certified Public Accountant Date = 8/15/94

FILE ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY. The IRS will show below whether or not your application is approved and will return the copy.

Notice to Applicant—To Be Completed by the IRS

- ☐ We HAVE approved your application. Please attach this form to your return.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. However, we have granted a 10-day grace period from the later of the date shown below or the due date of your return (including any prior extensions). This grace period is considered to be a valid extension of time for elections otherwise required to be made on a timely return. Please attach this form to your return.
- ☐ We HAVE NOT approved your application. After considering the reasons stated in item 4, we cannot grant your request for an extension of time to file. We are not granting the 10-day grace period.
- ☐ We cannot consider your application because it was filed after the due date of the return for which an extension was requested.
- ☐ Other: _____

Director _____ By _____ Date _____

If you want a copy of this form to be returned to an address other than that shown above, please enter the address to which the copy should be sent:

Please Type or Print	Name NEWBILL & Co. P.C.	AOL or suite no.
	Number and street for P.C. box no. if mail is not delivered to street address: 4891 INDEPENDENCE ST.	255
	City, town or post office, state, and ZIP code. For a foreign address, see instructions. WHEAT RIDGE CO 80033-6714	

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see back of form.

Cat. No. 11975B

Form 2758 (Rev. 7-83)

RECEIVED
NOV 08 1994
AUSTIN TEXAS
IRS-AUSC

Exhibit 28

EXHIBIT 29

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Eisenach
4651

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

FAXED

TO DAN SWARTZKEER CC: TIM WESS
FROM JEFF EISENACH
DATE 2/28/92
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Let's discuss Monday
[Signature]

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282

Exhibit 29

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



GOPAC

Eisenach
4652Jeffrey A. Eisenach
Executive Director

February 27, 1992

Dear Randy,

It was good talking with you today. I hope Newt's review of the proposal we discussed will be helpful in making a decision.

I've enclosed, as promised, a package on the "Change Congress NOW!" project GOPAC has underway. As we discussed, we would love to have you as a GOPAC Charter Member. As you know, the Charter Program involves a \$10,000 commitment, towards which we are able to accept either personal or corporate funds.

With respect to foundation funds, it is of course not appropriate for GOPAC to accept 501(c)3 money. However, Bo Callaway does have a foundation, the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation (ALOF), which owes GOPAC a substantial sum of money. You might consider a contribution to ALOF, which would enable it to pay down its GOPAC debt, and thus be of enormous help in our efforts to change the Congress in 1992.

I've asked Bo Callaway to give you a call next week, and hope you'll consider getting involved in what we believe is the best opportunity to change Congress we're likely to see for quite some time.

Sincerely,

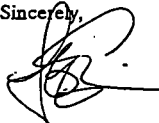
R. Randolph Richardson
477 Madison Ave., 17th Floor
New York, NY 10022440 First Street, N.W. • Suite 400 • Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone (202) 484-2282 Fax (202) 783-3306
Authorized and paid for by GOPAC

Exhibit 29

THE GRACE JONES RICHARDSON TRUST

P. O. BOX 20124
Greensboro, North Carolina 27420GOPAC2
2410Rec'd 4/20/92ALOF

April 14, 1992

R.R. Richardson *ju*Mr. Howard H. Callaway, Chairman
Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation
440 First St., NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Mr. Callaway:

On behalf of the trustees of The Grace Jones Richardson Trust and at the direction of Mr. R. Randolph Richardson, we are happy to enclose our check in the amount of \$25,000.00.

Any acknowledgment of this grant should be sent directly to Mr. Richardson at 477 Madison Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, New York 10022.

Very truly yours,

The Grace Jones Richardson Trust

LLB/jc

Enclosure - Check No. 2133

cc: Mr. R. Randolph Richardson

Exhibit 29

GRACE JONES RICHARDSON TRUST

P. O. BOX 20124
GREENSBORO, NC 27420

2133

66-551531

April 14, 1992

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation \$ 25,000.00

EXACTLY ~~25,000~~ 25,000 AND 00 CTS

DOLLARS

NCNBNCNB National Bank
of North Carolina
Greensboro, NC 27420

FOR Grant

[Signature]
[Signature]

EXHIBIT 30

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Eisenach
3724

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

FAXED

TO BO CALLAWAY c/o KAY RIDDLE c: JUNE
FROM JEFF E.
DATE 3/19
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

FOR JUNE'S NOTE, WE'LL
BE ETERNALLY GRATEFUL IF
BO WOULD MAKE A \$2000
ALOFT PAYMENT. HE + BETH
ARE OF THESE CHARTER
MEMBERS.

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282


Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 30

March 16, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR JUNE WEISS

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 

SUBJECT: Bo's Charter Dues

Bo has offered us a choice of (1) \$10,000 from him or (2) \$20,000 from ALOF. I indicated to him on the phone today I would tend to go for \$20,000 over \$10,000 -- in part, frankly, because I think we ought to go ahead and get the ALOF loan repaid and be done with it, as opposed to having it hanging around for another year.

In any event, let me know what you think on this and I'll get back to Bo.



 Go to ALOF


Exhibit 30

EXHIBIT 31

Rec'd 3/31/92
ALOF / CM Dues
Boo: Beth Callaway

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
 FOUNDATION INC.
 1900 GRANT STREET
 SUITE 850
 DENVER, COLORADO 80203
 (303) 894-0502

GOPAC2
 0011

March 23, 1992

Ms. June Weiss
 GOPAC
 440 First Street, NW, Suite 400
 Washington, DC 20001

Dear June:

The trustees of the Howard H. Callaway Foundation are happy to enclose a check in the amount of \$20,000.00 to be used for the important work of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

3

HHC:lk

Exhibit 31

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY FOUNDATION INC. 1900 GRANT STREET SUITE 850 DENVER, CO 80203		252 5-123 110
March 23 19 92		
Pay to the Order of <u>Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation,</u> \$ <u>20,000.00</u>		
Twenty Thousand dollars and No/100-----		Dollars
Robinson Humphrey / American Express FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT ACCOUNT <small>Service: Safe Deposit and Trust Company One Boston Place, Boston, MA 02108</small>		
T O S D <input type="checkbox"/> For <u>Contribution</u>	<u>Howard H. Callaway</u>	

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION

Howard H. Callaway
Chairman
Stacey A. Oswald
Director of Development

GOPAC2
0012

March 31, 1992

The Honorable Howard H. Callaway
Howard H. Callaway Foundation, Inc.
1900 Grant Street
Suite 850
Denver, Colorado 80203

Dear Mr. Callaway:

On behalf of the staff and creditors of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, I would like to thank you and the trustees of the Howard H. Callaway Foundation for your generous contribution.

Your support is greatly appreciated, and please know that the important work of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation will continue.

Yer Bo! *TRACY*
THANKS BO! *Chalin*
Hugs + Hugs + *xxoo*
Snooch Snooch! *Kisses!*
Thanku! *guy*
Ing
Thanks! *Jen*
Michael D.
Best wishes, *June*
June E. Weiss
Finance Director
Love + Kisses! *Stacey*
Candy
Hug's great, Bo!
Luv,
Kurt

440 First Street, N.W., Suite 400 • Washington, D.C. 20001 • Phone: (202) 484-2312 Fax: (202) 783-3306
1900 Grant St., Suite 850 • Denver, Colorado 80203

Exhibit 31

EXHIBIT 32

(Carlton Hotel Sunday)

De Petrone - George P. Pineda
 1992 Letter To Abraham Lincoln @ 1000

GO PAC under base in 5

(American City & T. D. - 3
 share - 100,000

For data pt at back =

he liked it 3 months

Finance Office # 2
 File Cabinet 2

"Petrone"
 file

GOPAC2
 2424

Age
 is the date the apt is

available

Jeff T. Pineda

\$ 10,000 30 days /

GO PAC → after 12/93

due 12/93

GOPAC2
 2426

GOPAC2
 2425

File
 Petrone
 File
 Pineda

Exhibit 32

EXHIBIT 33

NEWBILL 0119

Newbill & Co.

*A Professional Corporation
Certified Public Accountants*

4891 Independence Street — Suite 235
Wheat Ridge, CO 80033-6714
FAX (303) 456-1040
(303) 456-1120

November 15, 1993

Ms. Kay W. Riddle
Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation
1900 Grant St. - Suite 850
Denver, CO 80202

Dear Kay:

It was a pleasure to meet with you today. I hope all went well in Oakland and that you had an enjoyable trip. I am enclosing the following items for your files:

- Copy of 1992 Form 990EZ information tax return
- Copy of letter to Internal Revenue Service re: multiple employer ID numbers
- Copies of powers of attorney related to above letter to IRS

I mailed the tax return today by certified mail, return receipt requested. The receipt should come directly to your office. So if you do not get it within the next week to 10 days, please let me know so that we can track it down. We should receive a reply to my letter to the IRS within the next six weeks. Hopefully, this will clear up all the problems you have been having with them.

Between August 21st and December 27, 1990, GOPAC loaned the ALOF \$45,000 in cash to help fund ALOF programs. ALOF sent two checks to GOPAC in early 1991 for \$47,000, which the accountants applied toward partial repayments of these loans and showed the remainder as program expenses in 1991. There are not, however, any receipts or invoices from GOPAC in ALOF's files which show a breakdown of the money sent to GOPAC in 1991 or in 1992. Without these invoices, or any other documentation from GOPAC as to how this money was spent in ALOF's behalf, ALOF has no proof that any of the money sent to GOPAC was used for non-partisan, non-profit programs. GOPAC needs to send ALOF a detailed accounting of how the money they received from ALOF was used.

As soon as you receive this information from GOPAC, we can amend the 1991 and 1992 returns to show that the loans have been fully repaid and adjust the 1991 expenses to actual program expenses for that year. I will be happy to talk to someone at GOPAC directly, if you feel that it would help them to understand exactly what they need to research and provide to you.

NEWBILL 0120

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation
November 15, 1993
Page 2

Please do not hesitate to call me if you have any questions about the enclosed documents, or need any assistance in obtaining the GOPAC information. I will monitor the employer ID number correspondence with the IRS and inform you when I have heard from them. It is a pleasure to be of service to you and look forward to working with you in the future.

Very truly yours,



Toni L. Newbill
Newbill & Co., P.C.
Certified Public Accountants

Exhibit 33

EXHIBIT 34ALOF
0028**ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION**

Edward H. Callaway, Chairman

December 2, 1993

Ms. Judy Barrett
GOPAC
440 First Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Judy:

Hope all is well with you and your family.

Bo and I are in the final stages of closing out the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, but before we can do that, our accountant needs additional information.

Between August 21 and December 27, 1990, GOPAC loaned ALOF \$45,000 in cash to help fund ALOF programs. ALOF sent two checks to GOPAC in early 1991 for \$47,000, which the accountants applied toward partial repayments of these loans and showed the remainder as program expenses in 1991. There are not, however, any receipts or invoices from GOPAC in ALOF's files which show a breakdown of the money sent to GOPAC in 1991 or in 1992. Without these invoices, or any other documentation from GOPAC as to how this money was spent in ALOF's behalf, ALOF has no proof that any of the money sent to GOPAC was used for non-partisan, non-profit programs. GOPAC needs to send ALOF a detailed accounting of how the money they received from ALOF was used.

As soon as we receive this information from GOPAC, we can amend the 1991 and 1992 returns to show that the loans have been fully repaid and adjust the ~~1991~~ expenses to actual program expenses for that year.

Our accountant is Toni L. Newbill at 303-456-1120, and she would be glad to talk to you if that would help. We are really trying to get this all put to bed.

Best wishes for a happy holiday season. Hope to see you next week when I'm in D.C. for NET.

Love,



Kay Riddle
KWR:lk

Exhibit 34

EXHIBIT 35

0029

MEMO

FOR: Kay Riddle & Toni Newbill

FROM: Judy Barrett

RE: Summary of GOPAC receivable from A.L.O.F.

DATE: Dec 6, 1993

As you requested, the following is a summary of the financial activity between GOPAC and A.L.O.F.

GOPAC cash to A.L.O.F. ('90-91)	74,500.00	
(itemized deposits attached)		
Billing for Services (documentation attached)		
Office Supplies	6,296.27	#A9001
Postage/Delivery	2,158.81	#A9002
Rent	12,718.08	#A9003
Staff		
K. Riddle	9,833.32	#A9004
(25% of Sal. Apr-Nov '90)		
J. Barrett	6,031.22	
(25% of Sal. May-Dec '90)		
Professional Services		
Dan Swillinger	12,000.00	
(25% of retainer Jan-Oct '90)		
J. Eisenach	30,000.00	
(75% fee Jun-Oct '90+ exp)		
E. Mahe	4,375.00	
(25% of fee Jun-Oct '90)		
S. Manser	2,625.00	
(25% of fee Jun-Oct '90)		

160,537.73

Payments received at GOPAC from A.L.O.F.

8/6/91	37,000.00
8/21/91	10,000.00
1/21/92	15,000.00
3/31/92	20,000.00
4/29/92	25,000.00
12/30/92	10,000.00

117,000.00

Exhibit 35

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
ALOF
0030

Cash to A.L.O.F. from GOPAC

8/10/90	5000.00✓
8/15/90	6000.00✓
8/29/90	5000.00✓
9/13/90	10000.00✓
9/24/90	10000.00✓
10/26/90	5000.00✓
12/ /90	4000.00✓
2/11/91	29500.00✓ ⁴⁵⁰⁰⁰
TOTAL	<hr/> 74,500.00

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 35

ALOF
0027

GOPAC, INC.
440 FIRST STREET, N.W.
SUITE #400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

INVOICE # A9004

BILL TO:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
440 FIRST ST, N.W. #400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

FOR:

MANAGEMENT & ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Kay Riddle	
25% of Salary Apr-Nov 1990	\$9,833.32
Judy Barrett	
25% of Salary May-Dec 1990	\$6,031.25

LEGAL & COMPLIANCE

Dan Swillinger	
25% of Retainer Jan-Dec 1990	\$12,000.00

CONSULTANTS

Washington Policy Group	
75% of Fee Jan-Oct 1990	\$30,000.00
Eddie Mahe	
25% of Fee Apr-Oct 1990	\$4,375.00
Steve Manser	
25% of Fee Apr-Oct 1990	\$2,625.00

TOTAL : \$64,864.57

Exhibit 35

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN
ALOF
0026

INVOICE A9003

May 15, 1991

A.L.O.F.
440 First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

1990 Rent:

25% of office rent for June - November
(Total rent for the period= \$50,872.32)
8478.72 x 6 mos. x25%

\$12,718.08

Please Remit to GOPAC

Exhibit 35

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

GOPAC3 0811

INVOICE *A9001*

April 3, 1991

A.L.O.F.
440 First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001

Federal Express for 1990
(see attached)

\$2158.81

Please remit to GOPAC

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC

Exhibit 35

EXHIBIT 36

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

COVER SHEET

DATE: 7/2/90

TO: STEVE H.

FROM: JEFF

NO. OF PAGES (INCL. COVER) 3

MESSAGE: Your HANDIWORK... HOPE
you APPROVE...

WGC2-01378

Exhibit 36

July 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BO CALLAWAY AND KAY RIDDLE

FROM: Jeff Eisenach

SUBJECT: GOPAC/ACT Hours and the Future

This memo (a) reports on hours spent on GOPAC and ACT during the month of June and (b) suggests that we need to talk about a short-run problem that has developed with respect to Washington Policy Group.

June Hours

As we agreed, I've been keeping records of the time I've spent on GOPAC/ACT activities during the past month (i.e. from June 4 on). My general rules for recording hours were:

- o Record only hours that involved "blocks" of time (thus, these figures don't reflect a slew of 5-minute phone calls, quick memos, 10-minutes to review a letter drafted by Tom, etc.)
- o Record hours spent on "general planning" as GOPAC hours, even if ACT was discussed.
- o Record hours worked, without, in most cases, allowing for travel time, etc.
- o Record the three days spent in Atlanta as 12 hours each.
- o Make no effort to record overhead such as copying, faxing, messenger and mail, etc.

The results are reported below.

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>GOPAC Hours</u>	<u>ACT Hours</u>	<u>Total Hours</u>
6/4-6/9	11.5	17.0	28.5
6/11-6/15	19.0	2.5	21.5
6/18-6/22	6.0	6.0	12.0
6/25-6/29	38.0	7.0	45.0
TOTAL	74.5	32.5	107.0

WGC2-01379

Exhibit 36

2

hus, I worked 107 out of 160 (4 x 40) "regular hours" during the month of June, or almost exactly two thirds of my time, for GOPAC. Of these, two-thirds were for regular GOPAC, and one-third for ACT. (This allocation is heavily affected, it should be noted, by the decision to record all planning hours as GOPAC hours, even if ACT was discussed.) Thus, one-third of my retainer (\$2,640 = \$8,000/3) should be billed to ACT.

A Short-Run Problem

As you know, our agreement concerning my work with GOPAC calls for me to spend the majority of my time on GOPAC work, but also acknowledges that I have other clients that demand some of my time and, more broadly, that non-GOPAC work is a piece of what allows Washington Policy Group to stay in business.

As a practical matter, regular retainers have never made up the entire difference. Thus, I've relied, successfully, on short-run projects (e.g. the book I wrote for Hudson on the budget process) to bring everything into balance. I expect to be able to continue to do this in the future.

In the short run, however, there is a problem, which is to some extent a function of AOW. As you know, from January 1990 through May 1990, I spent virtually 100 percent of my time working on AOW. The most important implication of this is that I spent virtually no time developing new business. That lack of investment in the future is the main source of the current problem -- i.e. there is not enough in the immediate pipeline to make it all work.

There are several possible solutions, which I think we should talk about.

Even before we talk, however, let me be very open about my overall attitude. I see my relationship with GOPAC as one based on interest and commitment, much more than on time. The things I do with you and Newt are the things I have the greatest interest in and commitment to, and (by my choice) GOPAC will always get as much time as I can afford to give. As for ACT, far from being a problem in this sense, it simply heightens my interest in and commitment to spending time with GOPAC. Thus, I see our long-run historical relationship as a good model for the future, and my only question is how we can work together (synergistically!) to overcome a short-run problem with a minimum of friction.

Exhibit 36

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

ROUTING SLIPEisenach
4276DATE: 8/6/90TRANSMIT BY: FAX

HAND

FEDEX

MAIL

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN <input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE <input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY <input type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN <input type="checkbox"/>
BILL DYKE <input type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (1210)
JOE GAYLORD <input type="checkbox"/>	FRED STEEPER <input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH <input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER <input type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH <input type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINEHART <input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER <input type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH <input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE <input type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS <u>MARK C.</u>
DAN MEYER <input type="checkbox"/>	

COMMENTS _____

August 6, 1990

Eisenach
4277

MEMORANDUM FOR KAY RIDDLE AND MARK COLUCCI

FROM: Jeff Eisenach

SUBJECT: GOPAC/ACT Hours

This memo reports on hours spent on GOPAC and ACT during the month of July.

As we agreed, I've been keeping records of the time I've spent on GOPAC/ACT activities during the past month. As in June, my general rules for recording hours were:

- o Record only hours that involved "blocks" of time (thus, these figures don't reflect a slew of 5-minute phone calls, quick memos, 10-minutes to review a letter drafted by Tom, etc.)

- o Record hours spent on "general planning" as GOPAC hours, even if ACT was discussed.

- o Record hours worked, without, in most cases, allowing for travel time, etc. (Exceptions are for major trips -- e.g. to California -- that require me to be away from the office for entire days. These are recorded at 12 hours/day.)

- o Make no effort to record overhead such as copying, faxing, messenger and mail, etc.

The results are reported below.

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>GOPAC Hours</u>	<u>ACT Hours</u>	<u>Total Hours</u>
7/2-7/6	8.0	1.5	9.5
7/9-7/13	9.0	27.0	28.0
7/16-7/20	6.5	25.0	31.5
7/23-7/27	7.5	31.0	38.5
7/30-7/31	0.0	2.0	2.0
TOTAL	31.0	86.5	117.5

Thus, I worked 117.5 out of 160 (4 x 40) "regular hours" during the month of June, or nearly three-quarters thirds of my time, for GOPAC and ACTV. Of these, 26 percent were for regular GOPAC, and 74 percent for ACTV. Thus, 74 percent of my retainer (\$5,920 = \$8,000 x .74) should be billed to ACT.

Exhibit 36

ROUTING SLIPDATE: 9/24/90TRANSMIT BY:FAX

HAND

FEDEX

MAIL

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN	<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE	<input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARK COLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JOE GAYLORD	<input type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINEHART	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER	<input type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	JIM TILTON	<input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER	<input type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS	<input type="text"/>
DAN MEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="text"/>

COMMENTS

Exhibit 36

September 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR KAY RIDDLE AND MARK COLUCCI

FROM: Jeff Eisenach *JE*

SUBJECT: GOPAC/ACT Hours for August

This memo reports on hours spent on GOPAC and ACT during the month of August.

As we agreed, I've been keeping records of the time I've spent on GOPAC/ACT activities during the past month. As in the past, my general rules for recording hours were:

- o Record only hours that involved "blocks" of time (thus, these figures don't reflect a slew of 5-minute phone calls, quick memos, 10-minutes to review a letter drafted by Tom, etc.)

- o Record hours spent on "general planning" as GOPAC hours, even if ACT was discussed.

- o Record hours worked, without, in most cases, allowing for travel time, etc. (Exceptions are for major trips -- e.g. to California -- that require me to be away from the office for entire days. These are recorded at 12 hours/day.)

- o Make no effort to record overhead such as copying, faxing, messenger and mail, etc.

The results are reported below.

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>GOPAC Hours</u>	<u>ACT Hours</u>	<u>Total Hours</u>
8/1-8/3	1.5	6.0	7.5
8/6-8/10	1.0	6.5	7.5
8/13-8/17	34.0	4.0	38.0
8/20-8/24	16.0	6.0	22.0
8/24-8/31	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	52.5	22.5	75.0

As you know, I was on vacation the last week of August. Thus, out of 120 (3 x 40) "regular hours" during the month of August, 62.5 percent of my time was spent working for GOPAC and ACTV. Of these hours, 30 percent were for ACTV, and 70 percent for GOPAC. Thus, 30 percent of my retainer (\$2,400 = \$8,000 x .3) should be billed to ACT.

Exhibit 36

EXHIBIT 37

CNB 0426

7228

CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE
1301 CONSTITUTION AVENUE NW
F 2-4TH FLOOR
WASHINGTON DC 20036

AMERICAN SECURITY BANK
WASHINGTON, D.C.
13 5574

**** Thirty Seven Thousand & no/100 Dollars ****

PAY TO THE ORDER OF
Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation
440 1st Street, N.W. #400
Washington, DC 20001

DATE
8/2/91

AMOUNT
\$37,000.00

[Signature]

DEPOSIT TICKET
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
440 1ST STREET
WASHINGTON DC 20001

Central Bank
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE
8/2/91

CHECK
37,000.00

AMOUNT
37,000.00

DEPOSITED FOR OTHER USE
BY ALLIGER USE

TOTAL
37,000.00

37,000.00

Exhibit 37

CNB 0428

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTENNIAL FOUNDATION		1200
8/2 1991		
GOPAC		\$37,000.00
Thirty Seven Thousand and		no
Central Bank of Denver Denver, Colorado 80202		
Howard H. Callaway		
Kay W. Riddle		

Exhibit 37

CNB 0430

HOWARD P. CALLAWAY
FOUNDATION INC
1612 S. M. STREET SUITE 800
KANSAS CITY, MO 64108

226

August 16 91

Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation 10,000.00

Ten Thousand Dollars and No/100

Fabricated Newspaper / American Express

VI 125
DE Contribution

Howard H. Callaway

DEPOSIT TICKET

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
1612 S. M. STREET SUITE 800
KANSAS CITY, MO 64108

Central Bank
Denver

DATE 8/11
CURRENCY

COIN

CHECKS
H. Callaway

TOTAL NEW QUITS
CASHED IN

TOTAL

10,000

Exhibit 37

CNB 0432

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
FOUNDATION
1275 S. 1ST AVE.
DENVER, CO 80202

1201

August 21 1977

340250

Pay to the order of _____

John E. Carter

John E. Carter

Central
Bank of Denver
Denver, Colorado 80202

Exhibit 37

EXHIBIT 38

CNB 0449

1206

23-537070

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
1225 TREMONT PLACE
DENVER, COLORADO 80202

1-33 1992

Pay to the order of *HO PAC* \$25,000.00

Twenty-five thousand & 00/100 Dollars

Central Bank of Denver
Denver, Colorado 80202

James W. Tuss
July 6, 1992

Exhibit 38

CNB 0445

GRACE JONES RICHARDSON TRUST
P. O. BOX 20122
CHICAGO, ILL. 60620

2133
66-15-121

April 14, 1982

PAY TO THE ORDER OF **Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation**

EXACTLY \$25,000 AND 00 CTS DOLLARS

NCNB NCNB National Bank of New Orleans, Greenwood, NC 27429

FOR **Grant**

Charles J. Ford

DEPOSIT TICKET 7-31112

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
1000 Wisconsin Ave, NW, Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20001

Central Bank Denver
1000 Broadway, Suite 1000
Denver, CO 80202

DATE **4/20** DEPOSITED **25000**

CASH **25000**

CHECKS **Richardson Trust 25000**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----

TOTAL FROM DEPOSIT SLIPS OR ATTACHED LIST

TOTAL 25000

ON DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL

25000

1

Check and cash deposited subject to the signature of the depositor. Cash is not negotiable until fully deposited.

Exhibit 38

EXHIBIT 39

CNB 0447

3/5/92 <i>Cash</i> <i>Pay to the order of</i>		ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION 1275 TRIMONT PLACE DENVER, COLORADO 80201	1205 25531030
Pay to the order of <i>SOPAC</i>		3/31 19 92	2625000 00
Twenty thousand & 00/100		Dollars	
Central Bank of Denver Denver, Colorado 80202		<i>John G. [Signature]</i> <i>Quay E. [Signature]</i>	

Exhibit 39

EXHIBIT 40

CNB 0217

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION 1275 TREMONT PLACE DENVER, COLORADO 80202		1208
Pay to the order of <u>GO PAC</u>		10/22/1972
401804968 12-30-82-002		10,000
Ten Thousand & 00/100		
Central Bank of Denver Denver, Colorado 80202		12553742

17,000

Exhibit 40

CNB 0439

DREYFUS LIQUID ASSETS, INC. 424

THE BANK OF NEW YORK, WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK

DATE Dec 30, 1991 50-2117110

PAY TO Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

THE ORDER OF Exhibit Thru 1 and 2

\$15,000.00

DOLLARS

MINIMUM OF \$500.00

K. Tucker Andersen

E. TUCKER ANDERSEN
29 CLARKWOOD RD
UPPER MERIDALE, N.Y. 10703

Denata

DEPOSIT TICKET 21-JAN-92

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION
1120 4th Ave, 11th Fl
OLIVET, CO 80063

Central Bank
Denver
1120 4th Ave, 11th Fl
OLIVET, CO 80063

DATE 12/30/91 TIME 10:00

CURRENCY CASH

COIN 0004090-9

AMOUNT 15,000.00

0004090-9

CHK DEP

IF DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL

PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN TO
OR ATTACHED SLIP

TOTAL 15,000.00

15,000.00

Exhibit #0

CNB 0441

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION 1275 FREIGHTWAY PLACE DENVER, CO 80231		1203
Date: <u>Jan 17, 1992</u> Amount: <u>15,000</u>	Pay to the order of: <u>SPAC</u> Fifteen + 00	\$ 15,000.00
Central Bank of Denver Denver, Colorado 80202		Dollars

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*

Exhibit 40

CNB 0459
632

HENDERSON FOUNDATION
P.O. BOX 420
BOSTON, MA 02117

DATE	TO THE ORDER OF	AMOUNT
12/21/72	Dr. Howard Rollins and Dr. Crute	
12/21/72	Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Police Community Foundation, Inc.	10,000.00

BANK OF BOSTON
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BOSTON

DEPOSIT TICKET

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN
OPPORTUNITY FOUNDATION**
114 THURMONT PL.
CHICAGO, IL 60604

**Central Bank
Denver**
Federal Reserve Bank

DATE 12/21/72
CURRENCY COIN
CHIEF TELLER HENDERSON
TELEPHONE 19,000 -

DATE	TO THE ORDER OF	AMOUNT
12/21/72	Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Police Community Foundation, Inc.	10,000.00

TOTAL 10,000.00

REMARKS 10,000.00

Exhibit 40

EXHIBIT 41

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

Mescon
0651

June 8, 1993

Dr. Timothy Mescon, Dean
School of Business Administration
P.O. Box 444
Marietta, Georgia 30061

Dear Tim:

This letter confirms our conversations in recent days concerning Washington Policy Group's role in the Kennesaw State College Foundation's "Renewing American Civilization" project.

As we have discussed, Washington Policy Group (WPG) is a small (three-person) project management and consulting firm located in Washington, DC. WPG has been in existence since March 1988, during which time our clients have included several major "think tanks," political campaigns and U.S. government agencies.

Among our most significant project management undertakings was the 1990 "American Opportunities Workshop" and its successor, American Citizens' Television. Both of these projects bear significant similarities to the project you have asked us to get involved with, "Renewing American Civilization." Thus, we enter this undertaking with both enthusiasm and a full understanding of the enormity and complexity of the undertaking.

As we have discussed, you wish to engage WPG to perform a complete array of project management services in connection with "Renewing American Civilization," reporting directly to you in your role with the Kennesaw State College Foundation. These services include:

1. Overall project management, including designing systems architecture, monitoring deadlines, overseeing project staff, budget development, monitoring income and expenditures, etc. (The scope of the project is described more completely in the attached "Budget Justification" which WPG has prepared in conjunction with its work and you have approved.)
2. Specific responsibility for working directly with you and with Congressman Gingrich in the development of the substance of the class.
3. Specific responsibility for working directly with you and with Congressman Gingrich in seeking financial support for the class.

In order to permit WPG to undertake these tasks on behalf of the Kennesaw State College Foundation (the Foundation), WPG and the Foundation agree to the following:

Kennesaw State College Foundation
 Dr. Timothy Mescon
 June 8, 1993
Page Two

Mescon
 0692

1. WPG agrees to provide comprehensive project management services, as described above, to the Kennesaw State College Foundation's Renewing American Civilization project. In performing these services, WPG expects to devote approximately "half-time" of its three salaried employees for the period June 1 through September 30, 1993.

2. In compensation for these services, the Foundation agrees to pay WPG \$35,000, payable in four equal installments on June 15, July 15, August 15 and September 15, 1993. In addition, the Foundation agrees to reimburse WPG for out-of-pocket costs incurred in connection with the project, including travel expenses, long-distance fees, out-of-house photocopying, materials, etc., provided these costs fall within the budget projections for these items in the Budget Justification.

3. This agreement terminates September 30, 1993.

4. Either party may terminate this agreement prior to September 30 upon 60 days written notice. The Foundation may terminate the agreement at any time in the event WPG personnel engage in illegal or unethical conduct having a detrimental effect upon the Foundation, its Board Members, officers or employees.

As you know, we are very excited about this project and look forward to playing a productive role in bringing it to a successful conclusion. If you have any questions about the above, please feel free to call. And, if the above accurately represents our agreement, please sign in the space provided below and return a copy of this agreement to me at the above address.

Sincerely,


 Jeffrey A. Eisenach
 President

Agreed,

 Timothy S. Mescon
 Kennesaw State College Foundation

 Date

Exhibit 41

EXHIBIT 42GOPAC
2492GOPAC
0890

Newt Gingrich

General Chairman
GOPAC

4/15/93

to Owen Roberts

Dear Owen,
Thank you for the
diver group check.

Your courage, your voice,
your intellectual support and
your financial support all
play a part in making it
possible for me to continue
to push forward.

Renewing American civilization
is really going to be amazing -
It all started in your
planning room. Thank you
your friend



Not prepared or mailed at Government expense. Authorized and paid for by GOPAC, Daniel J. Swilling, Treasurer.

Exhibit 42

Distribution:

1. Original
2. NEWT
3. STEVE
4. ~~LEE~~
5. JEFF
6. RACHEL

neg sub
Phone time
Photocopying done
2 sub
2 sub
1 copy

NEWT'S Easel Sheets

FRIDAY, 18 DEC 1992: #1 → #13
EASEL EASEL

Saturday, 19 Dec 1992: #14 → #22
EASEL EASEL

Belleair Bluffs, Florida

FRIDAY, 18 DEC 1992
Sat, 19 DEC 1992

Exhibit 42

HAN 02103

Congress - primary mission

Advocate of civilization

Definer of civilization

Teacher of the rules of civilization

Arouser of those who form civilization

Organizer of the pre-civilization action

Leader (possibly) of the civilizing forces

A universal rather than optional mission

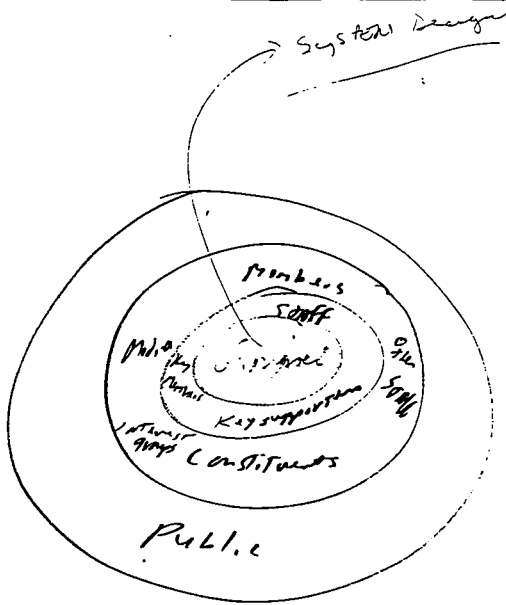
Th.3 retains a primary focus on

elated political power as
the central arena and fulcrum
by which a free people determine
future and govern themselves

#1
18 DEC 1992

Exhibit 42

HAN 02104



18 DEC 1992 #2

Exhibit 42

HAN 02105

... THE ... ^{of the ...}
 (compelling way) - understand it
 believe in it and be ^{committed} to it

Define the rules and principles ^{of the mission} describe
 the goals to be achieved by
 the mission

Distinguish between the mission and the movement
 Define the goals to be achieved by the
 movement

Define the process and activities and
 structure of the movement

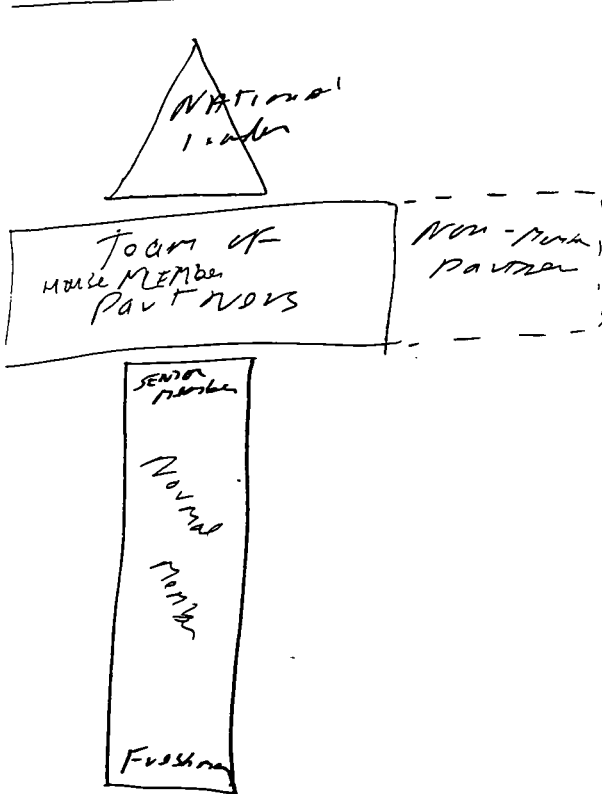
Define the method and system of
 achieving the mission and
 sustaining the movement
 within normal politics - government
 in Georgia, ~~the~~ Washington and
 the nation

This page is the highest value assignment/MSK/gia
 of 1993

18 DEC 1992 #3

HAN 02106

Exhibit 42



18 DEC 1992 [#] 4

HAN 02107

Exhibit 42

First focus 1993

- 1 Getting the vision right and communicating it to key staff, supporters, members
- 2 Developing the mission step by step
- 3 building a Team in the House 6 up
- 4 building a Team in Georgia 6
- and then
5 building a Team through GADP (new name?)

all the above are Far more important than media through June 1993

How do we build the personnel schedule and staff support to achieve 1 to 5 and to do so while consolidating our strength in the House 6 up leadership and in the GK District.

#5

18 DEC 1992

HAN 02108

Exhibit 42

I. Getting the vision right

~~NEW~~
I DRAFTING Group
NENT-STEER-Rodde, Nemo Desmond,

II Editing-
Gaylord, Eisenach, Blankley, Mainwaring
Mayer, Swinshewer, Pappas, Wansley, Phillips
Alan, Owen-Turney, Lubbers, Zylas, Tucker and others

III Improving group
Walker, Weber, Paxon, DeLay, Kristof, Pinkerton
The Koblars

IV review boards or critiquing groups
Dick Fox

1 B.

~~IS~~ disseminating groups and systems
of communications and education

#6
18 DEC 1992

HAN 02109

Exhibit 42

201211101121M
HOUSE Republican

MESSAGE to attract voters,
resources and candidates

MECHANISM for winning seats

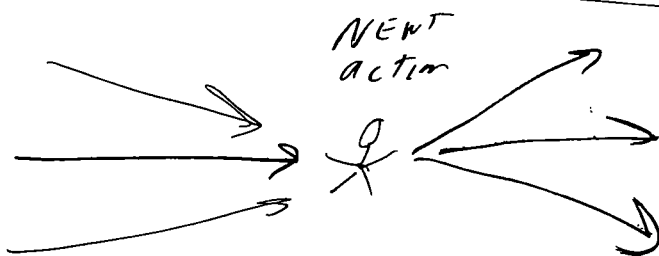
METHOD of daily-weekly activity
built in the legislative process and
beyond

TEAM building for key members
electoral leadership, ranking members, activists
Key staff, allies

19 DEC 1992 #

HAN 02110

Exhibit 42



build up
preparation
attention focusing

Follow through
dissemination
consolidation
then
evaluation and preparation
for future action

A Pattern rather than a single point

L J
18 DEC 1992

HAN 02111

Exhibit 42

1. Newer effectiveness by

1. better staffing and scheduling
2. patterns of activity not isolated person
3. Team building ^{and partnership creation} many people can play
Key roles
4. Magnifying impact of events
by scale of institution or
effort (big rally, network TV, etc)
5. creating a movement in which people already
understand the basis so any given act
or decision requires minimal formalizations

18 DEC 1992 #9

HAN 02112

Exhibit 42

Hatched
 other GP
 National Whip
 Technology
 Quality
 • Olympic
 Asian-Gang
 GP

open cup
 vacant, in
 Mission - present
 planning and development
 health
 Todd -
 write books
 extra orders
 C-SPAN
 speaker
 Military - foreign policy
 District

#

18 DEC 19

HAN 02113

Exhibit 42

Key Question of the next 30 years.

^{to achieve} progress and civilization

We ~~mean~~ must ask:

How do we Help people

be productive

safe

and responsible

- Destructive ideas
- constructive ideas

not right/wrong

So they can be

prosperous and Free

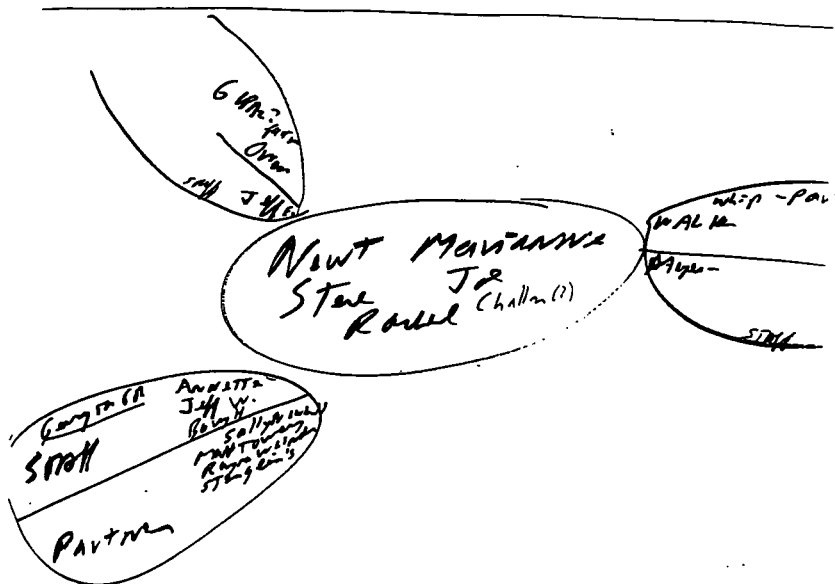
so they can pursue happiness?

#11

18 DEC 1992

HAN 02114

Exhibit 42



INT independent - staff - PARTNER - Newt
 PARTNER - a person who is voluntarily helping
 us implement something we mutually
 agree on to reach a goal we mutually want

12

18 DEC 1981

HAN 02115

Exhibit 42

-
- Tasks to be completed
 - ^{PRIORITIES} Structures needed
 - Schedule 93-4
 - ^{meeting cycles} detailed schedule to June 93
 - Learning Time focus
 - Lifestyle - vacation
 - Support systems
 - Personnel

#B
18 DEC 1992

HAN 02116
Exhibit 42

2018-1

A body of rules and examples
that is a doctrine of Freedom,
self government, safety and prosperity

~~Self~~ put-Freedom (Nelson) people in every country
an electronic ^{system} ~~university~~ (??) of F, S, S and P
with an ^{national} ~~associational~~ bent and a
strong feed back mechanism for constant
self renewal from the grassroots
an America constructively supporting
virtue behaviors in its thousands
yout

A Republican majority that is the heart of the
American Movement for F, S, S and P

Saturday
19 DEC 1992 #14
~~18 DEC 1992~~

HAN 02117

Exhibit 42

1993 - 2018

A SERIES OF BOOKS ("the history of Freedom, prosperity and safety")

Possibly a series of courses with audio and videotape
Followers

Possibly a text-book (plus audio, video, computer) services

C-SPAN lecture series

(campus (intellectual) appearances as "the historians"
signature HISTORIAN applying the history to public life. For
radio show (possible TV follow up) weeklywith ENCL to pay for some support (editors, committee, appraisals)
60PM - Republicans Abroad - the Republican Crusade Foundation (now)British Conservative - Sir Kriebel → association
off to launch Freedom, prosperity and safetyAn Intellectual-policy-political Team that monitors
current policies against the backdrop of these
values and helps shape recommendations tactical positions
within this general vision and frameworkA Quality-Technology-Entrepreneurship association dedicated
to F.P.S. and helping both think through and
Toward the 21st century model, raise the resources, provide
current examples, and help shape current policies
(our vision of heavy industry 1860-96 and
Inventions 1932-45)Sat
19 DEC 1992 #15

HAN 02118

Exhibit 42

We are in the business of
transforming the United
States from a welfare state
into an opportunity society - the
opportunity society is based on the basic
principles of # 11 -

If the West dupes, tricks, sneaks etc
is NOT TRANSFORMATIONAL where we
doing it?

Every Non-transformational event diverts,
and distorts our effort and may blind people
from seeing and supporting the TRANSFORMATIONAL
effort.

Sat
19 Dec 1992 # !

HAN 02119

Exhibit 42

1993 TASKS - I

Quarterly meeting
to set up
monitoring
of how we
doing in
of tasks

1. Design vision and its communication
test and communicate it with modification
- start after feedback

2. Design general planning-management system
JPL and set up quarterly review
at the general level

3. Design and implement
new mission planning-communication-training
new JPL

4. Design and implement the intellectual leadership component
Steve and the shift in publicity focus to other level

5. Design and implement the House Republican national
information system showing systems
quarterly coordinating council
annual tide water

6. Design and implement the House Republican Team

a. Leadership (includes all communication identity)

b. Whip organization

c. Ranking members -

d. Activists (Don L. JEFF SO. ED. MARTIN)

e. Special (women, minorities, New England, California, etc.)

f. the TRANSFORMATIONAL-Tactical organizing team

SAT
19 DEC 1992 #17

HAN 02120

Exhibit 42

1993 - TASKS - TF

7- Design and implement the Georgia 6th District

- of
- a. Congressmen
 - b. Campaign (Fanz)

(304)

c. The Movement

d. Georgia

a. Dean of House delegation

b. Olympics

c. Georgia 6th especially elected officials

d. Georgia media - Georgia understanding of what
he has going

8.

8. Design and implement the NATIONAL - international
Movement support systems

Whole
Team

a. 60/40

b. Quality - Technology - CONTEMPORARY ASSOCIATES

c. Republican's Abroad

d. Republican International Foundation (?)

e. Foundation?

f. other

SAT
19 DEC 1992

TH

HAN 02121

Exhibit 42

193 - TASKS IF

7. Design broad schedule, support mechanism
Whole team and lifestyle modifications.

10. Develop a: staff recruiting-orientation-training
Joe + Oliver + others SYSTEM

11. Search for, recruit and develop major
allies (looking for Skovran and Szordak,
Mark Hanna, etc.) Allies: Real assignment:

So take care of your zone
Suffington - does Steve know
know about?

SAT 19
19 DEC 1992 # 19

HAN 02122

Exhibit 42

Priorities to 6/30/93

1. ~~State~~ Articulate the vision of civilizing ~~the~~ humanity and recivilizing all Americans (TASK 1)
2. Design general planning-management system and setup quarterly review at the general level (TASK 2, 9, 10, 11)
3. build a House Republican Team committed to professionalizing the House and to becoming a majority and in particular building a team among the leadership and with our active House member partners (TASKS 5, 6)
4. building a volunteer-staff team in the 6th Distr. (TASK 7)
5. Define, plan and begin to organize the movement for civilization and the effort to transform the welfare state into an opportunity society, to help people achieve productivity, ^{responsibility} freedom and safety so they can achieve prosperity and freedom so they can pursue happiness (TASK 3, 5, 8)
6. Diet, exercise, recreation and personal mind management (TASK 9)
7. begin to plan and develop the intellectual-educational effort to sustain the vision of civilizing humanity and recivilizing all Americans (TASK 4)

Sat
19 DECEMBER # 20

HAN 02123

Exhibit 42

Key Questions for 1993

Reporting

Measuring

recruiting delegating - Training

planning

coordinating

meetings

eg → How does Nove and his staff plan in
advance of each meeting and followup on
each meeting

#6
Sat 19 DEC 1992

HAN 02124

Exhibit 42

reporting - directly to Nant/JA

Daily

1. Dengia report
story + clippings (include 2428?)
2. Congressional - House 60 report
out. Report on what went wrong + Congress Daily, HITLINE, Roll call etc
on what went wrong. find back on what's going on on the hill
3. National clippings (+ Hotline?)
+ White House daily?

Weekly

1. G O P

Uniford
Weekly
Report

2. ~~Civil Rights Movement~~

3. ~~Movement report~~

4. Long report (in addition to contributing to Daily, etc)

Need to know

to all
#10-11
#Bullets

Clips. MDT/const. Pri Journal Editorials
Staff Reports
Gossip
What did you learn today

Sat #22
19 DEC 1992

HAN 02125

Exhibit 42

EXHIBIT 43

MEMORANDUM

TO: Gay Gaines
Lisa Nelson

FROM: Newt Gingrich

DATE: October 26, 1993

Welcome aboard! (I am writing this at 6:05am and the Delta flight attendant just said that so I thought it appropriate)

I really enjoyed our meeting last week (and my earlier breakfast with Gay). We may very well make history together. It is an exciting prospect.

As I thought about our conversations one particular element seemed worth stressing. The Gingrich team is an extensive, established system with an amazing array of activities, efforts and personalities. We do a lot of different things pretty well every day. There are a number of things we can do better.

However, the things we can improve must be improved within the larger context of a generally effective, very purposeful effort to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state. Electing local government, state legislative, and congressional majorities are steps toward this idealistic, moral goal of renewing American civilization.

You two are tremendous additions to the team. You will bring energy, ideas, creativity and leadership to GOPAC. I know from conversations around the country that you have already brought renewed interest and renewed resources to GOPAC.

My only major concern is that you both take the time to thoroughly understand what we are trying to do and how we have grown to this point. I would strongly suggest you use Joe Gaylor, Steve Hanser, Rachel Phillips, Jeff Eisenach and Hardy Lott as resources to learn why we do a lot of the things we do.

Let me be very clear. I am not asking you to accept any of our current structures, habits or systems as written in stone. I am excited that you are joining us precisely because I believe your creativity and your leadership will strengthen our team. Frankly, the better Joe and I come to know you and understand you the more freedom you will have to run GOPAC.

Because we are a system and there are many interactive parts it is important in the early days that you check with Joe on significant changes to see how they effect other political, legislative, legal and ethical concerns.

My system, at its core, is very clear cut and I hope you will ask questions of the five key people I rely on most:

GDC 11550

Exhibit 43

1. Joe Gaylord is empowered to supervise my activities, set my schedule, advise me on all aspects of my life and career. He is my chief counselor and one of my closest friends. Early on I strongly suggest you share all of your ideas and questions with Joe.

2. Steve Hanser is my chief ideas adviser, close personal friend of twenty years, and chief language thinker. If there is something Joe or I are doing that we don't seem to be explaining very well Steve is the best person to discuss things with (404-834-7387 or 706-632-7416 are the two numbers he can be reached at 90% of the time). He stays up late so you can talk to him at your convenience.

3. Rachel Phillips is my executive assistant. She tactically coordinates my daily activities while Joe strategically coordinates them. She works directly with the senior management of my organizations and she speaks for me when I am in meetings. You can tell her anything and ask her anything. She knows Joe and me remarkably well.

4. Jeff Eisenach is our senior intellectual leader and an entrepreneur with great talent and determination. He has studied Joe and me systematically and talked at length with Hanser. He can give you insights both about GOPAC and about Joe and me.

5. Hardy Lott is a superb scheduler who knows Marianne and me very well and can tell you a lot about the rhythms of my schedule and how to use me effectively.

You both have direct access to me at any time. You are senior leaders and you can come to me without going through Joe or anyone else (although on major decisions I will promptly consult Joe and Steve and on minor ones I will inform Joe and Rachel).

Please feel free to call me. During the daytime and when I am traveling Rachel can set up a call and checking with her is the fastest way to get it done. If you want to talk at night or on weekends (I travel about half of all weekends and am in Georgia the other half) please just call me at home. (Georgia: 404-984-1826, DC: 202-544-4764)

We are going to renew American civilization.

We are going to replace the welfare state.

We are going to elect a Republican majority in the House.

You two are going to be a key dynamic duo in these historic achievements.

Again, welcome aboard!

GDC 11551

Exhibit 43

to Gay Gaines / HAVE
LISA NELSON / J.L. 10/26/93
STAN ADT
Pursend

From Vent 10/21/93

Welcome aboard (I am writing this at 6:05 AM and the Delta flight attendant just said that so I thought it appropriate).

I really enjoyed our meeting last week (and my earlier breakfast with Gay).

We may very well make history together. It is an exciting prospect.

As I thought about our conversations one particular element seemed worth stressing.

The Gingrich Team is an extensive, established system with an amazing array of activities, efforts and personalities.

We do a lot of different things pretty well every day.

There are a number of things we can do better.

However the things we can improve must be improved within the larger context of a generally effective, very purposeful effort to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state. Eliminating local government, state legislative, and congressional organizations are steps toward this idealistic, moral goal of renewing American civilization.

You two are tremendous additions to the Team. You will bring energy, ideas, creativity and leadership to GWAC. I know from conversations around the country that you have already brought renewed interest

MyR

GDC 11552

Exhibit 43

Gaines-Nelson - 2

and renewed resources to GARC.

My only major concern is that you both take the time to thoroughly understand what we are trying to do and how we have grown to this point. I would strongly suggest you use Joe Gaylord, Steve Hansen, Rachel Phillips, Jeff Eisner and Hardy Left as resources to clarify why we do a lot of the things we do.

Let me be very clear. I am not asking you to accept any of our current structures, habits or systems as written in ~~stone~~ ~~granite~~ stone. But ~~frankly~~ I am excited that you are joining us precisely because I believe your creativity and your leadership will strengthen our Team. ~~and you will bring wisdom, new vision~~ Frankly, the better Joe and I come to know you and understand you the more freedom you will have to run things ~~autonomously~~ with GARC.

Because we are a system and there are many interactive parts it is important in the early days that you check ~~back~~ ~~with~~ with Joe on significant changes to see how they affect other political, legislative, legal and ethical concerns.

My system at its core is very clean cut and I hope you will ask questions of the 5 key people I rely on a lot:

GDC 11553

1. Joe Gaylord is Empowered to supervise my activities, set my schedule, advise me on all aspects of my life and career. He is my chief counselor and one of my closest friends. Earlier I strongly suggest you share

None

Exhibit 43

GAINES-NELSON-4

both about GUPAC and about Ted and me.

5. Hardy Lott - she is a superb
sleuth who knows MANTANORE and me
very well and can tell you a lot about the
day to day of my schedule and how to
use me effectively.

You both have direct access to me
at any time. You are senior leaders and
you can come to me without going through
Ted or anyone else (although on major decisions
I will promptly consult Ted and Steve and on
minor ones I will inform Ted and Rachel).

Please feel free to call me. During the
day time and when I am traveling
Rachel can set up a call and checking
with her is the fastest way to get it
done.

If you want to talk at night or on
weekends (I travel about 1/2 of all weekends
and am in Georgia the other half) please
just call me at home (Georgia 404-
9841826, Washington 2025444784).

We are going to renew American
citizenship.

We are going to replace the welfare
state. Republican

We are going to elect a pro-family
in the House.

You two are going to be a key
dynamic duo in these historic achievements.
Again, welcome aboard.

GDC 11555

Exhibit 43

EXHIBIT 44

PFF
14473

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Notes for Remarks
National Review Institute
Washington, D.C.
January 23, 1993

Thank you Terry Considine. Let me congratulate Gay Gaines, John O'Sullivan and the National Review Institute.

In January 1977, 16 years ago, there were two events in Washington with major speakers:

- o one was Jimmy Carter's inaugural
- o one was Ronald Reagan's speech to a conservative conference.

In history it is Reagan's address that will be seen as decisive and Carter's inaugural will be seen as the aberration.

Similarly we must avoid being too focused on Clinton and the Democrats.

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

To quote FDR, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

In 1940, the greatest threat to freedom was Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The American people rose to the challenge and freedom won.

In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was the Soviet Empire. The American people rose to the challenge and for nearly half a century we contained the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My dad spent years serving in the U.S. Army to protect and preserve freedom. It worked.

Now in 1993 the greatest threat to freedom is the decay of American civilization.

The decay of American civilization. Among liberal elites would be a horrifying assertion. It has several politically incorrect assumptions.

First, "decay of American civilization" asserts there is an American civilization. We are more open, more future oriented, more inclined toward technology and entrepreneurialism and less hierarchical, we are optimistic and integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat Saiki, from Gary Franks to Henry Bonilla, from Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Louis Sullivan, America is the most universal, most integrationist, most opportunity oriented society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, "decay of American civilization" asserts that we can make a distinction between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend in his inaugural, but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

Exhibit 44

We can make moral judgements. Learning is progress. Illiteracy is decay. Wellness is progress. Drug addiction is decay. Safe streets is progress. Violent crime is decay.

Lastly, by asserting American civilization matters we reject multiculturalism's claim to be the situation ethics of historic judgements. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim reminders that humans can be vicious, brutal and savage to each other. Anacostia in Washington, Techwood in Atlanta and East L.A. are reminders that Americans can return to barbaric behaviors and vicious brutality with frightening speed.

We must assert unequivocally and decisively that every American must learn thoroughly the principles, practices and history of American civilization. Only then can we insure the continued existence of a free society.

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American civilization we should study other civilizations. As a Ph.D in European history, I favor studying other cultures. But Other-culturism is very different from multiculturalism because we start with the belief that the American civilization is the most powerful creator of prosperity, freedom, and safety in human history and must be studied first.

So our generation's rendezvous with history is to launch a movement to renew American civilization.

We must insist that to be American is to be free, productive and safe.

We must insist that American civilization means freedom, productivity, and safety for all Americans.

Today we are failing to meet these standards both for the individual and for our country.

Renewing American civilization is the central challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us, most Americans want to sustain and renew American civilization.

As Everett Carl Ladd noted recently only 22% of the 1992 voters favored expanding government while 68% favored restraint in government.

In an Atlanta Constitution poll last year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare recipients should be required to work, including women with young children?" 81% of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said no.

In New York now we are seeing family and neighborhood gangs rebel against the government's efforts to brainwash their children against their own values. These anti-brainwashing rebels will be to the 1990's what the anti-busing rebels were in the 1960's and

Exhibit 44

1970's.

So we have a vast majority in favor of renewing American civilization .

We also have the advantage of standing on the shoulders of Buckley, Goldwater and Reagan.

We are far more numerous and experienced than we were in 1960 or 1976.

We are ready to launch a 21st century conservatism that will renew American civilization, transform America from a welfare state into an opportunity society and create a conservative governing majority.

There are five pillars of American civilization. If we systematically study them and use them to transform government and the law we can offer a better lifestyle with a higher standard of living at lower cost and with greater under a longer standard of living at lower cost and with greater freedom for virtually all Americans except bureaucrats, trial lawyers, liberal academics, lobbyists and the government employee unions.

These five pillars actually will increase productivity and services. They allow us to break out of the welfare state dilemma of more taxes or less government.

In fact they can create progress and replace decay. The five pillars are quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, principles of American civilization and psychological strength.

First, we must master the profound knowledge of quality as taught by Edwards Deming. Quality is a transformational set of principles and habits that are reshaping many companies and can reshape the entire country.

Second we must again favor technological advances. Desert Storm was proof technology matters. In most of our history America has been the most technology-improving society in history. Increasingly, bureaucracy, litigation, taxation, attitudes and professional guilds have been weakening, delaying and burdening technological advance. Yet technology can dramatically help improve the quality and availability, and lower the cost, of health, learning, bureaucracy and virtually every aspect of American life.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases wealth and productivity. For poor minorities, entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. For women, entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling. If you own it you can change it. In government, the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization, and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services, entrepreneurship will

Exhibit 44

consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization must be learned and practiced if we are to remain the freest, most prosperous and most integrated society in history. We have daily reminders both at home and abroad that civilization requires learning, practicing and reinforcing. The work ethic, male responsibility for their children, intense efforts to protect the innocent and control the criminal, patriotism, the practices of self government, all of these steps are vital. They can be summarized in one test we can apply to every prepared policy:

Does it help people be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is "yes," it is a constructive proposal. If "no," it is a destructive proposal. Note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but that no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity and safety. Civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. There is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the poor need psychological strength even more than the rich.

Everything else will fail if we fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength.

We face the challenge of translating these five pillars of the 21st century American civilization into reality.

Reagan taught us the virtue of focusing narrowly and with great discipline on no more than three big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time opposing destructive proposals that will increase the decay. However, we must vigorously discipline ourselves to spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the Left.

The more important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of quality, technology, entrepreneurship, American principles and psychological strength to just three big topics.

If we will develop solutions for (1) economic growth with the deficit as a subset, (2) health and (3) saving the inner city we will decisively trump the left. At that point either Clinton will adopt our solutions or the country will fire the president who subsidizes decay and blocks progress.

A movement that offers solutions on economic growth, health and the inner city will then earn the right to work on other areas.

Exhibit 44

We must renew American civilization by studying these principles, networking success stories, applying these success stories to develop programs that will lead to dramatic progress, and then communicating these principles and these opportunities so the American people have a clear choice between progress, renewal, prosperity, safety and freedom within America civilization versus decay, decline, economic weakness, violent crime and bureaucratic dominance led by a multicultural elite.

Given that choice, our movement for renewing American civilization will not just win the White House in 1996, we will elect people at all levels dedicated to constructive proposals.

The Nazis lost to freedom. The Soviet Empire lost to freedom. With our courage and our persistence we can ensure that the decay of the welfare state will lose to freedom. That is what is at stake.

Exhibit 44

Let me congratulate Gay ^{James} ^{16 years ago} ^{James Sullivan} ^{Pres.}
 IN 1977 there were 2 events in Washington
 with nava speakers

I was Jimmy Carter's inaugural

I was Ronald Reagan's Special to
 a conservative ~~large~~ ^{large} conference

In history it is ~~the~~ ^{Reagan's} ~~inaugural~~ ^{inaugural} that will be seen as decisive and ~~the~~ ^{Reagan's} ~~inaugural~~ ^{inaugural} will be seen as the abortion.

Similarly we must avoid being
 too focused on Clinton and the Democrats
 Now 16 years later here we are again

Our primary effort should not be to
 focus on what's wrong with the 1. ~~best~~ ^{best} ~~bad~~ ^{bad}
 ideas -

Our primary effort should be to
 develop and communicate a positive vision,
 to create positive strategies, to
 develop positive projects and to spend
 each day on positive activities. We should
 spend 3/4 of our time on our positive and 1/4 on the negative

If we convince the American people
 we have better solutions for their problems.
 They will reject the Democrats and
 our ideas. If the Democrats refuse they will be defeated.

Walmart, McDonald's and Kmart
 did not become dominant by attacking
 their competitors.

Exhibit 44

They became dominant by offering
 better value to the customer and greater
 opportunities to the customer.

-r-r-

<sup>But what we must do is favor an important but not
 convenient outcome</sup>
 NRe² to give FOR

Our generation has a ready voice with
 destiny -

IN 1940 the greatest threats to
 Freedom was the Nazi Germany and
 Imperial Japan. The American people rose
 to the challenge and Freedom won.

IN 1946 the greatest threat to
 Freedom was the Soviet Empire. The
 American people rose to the challenge and for
 nearly a half century we contained
 the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My Dad
 spent years serving in the US Army
 to protect and preserve Freedom. It worked.

Now in 1993 the greatest
 threat to Freedom is the decay of
 American civilization.

Decay of American civilization.

Among liberal elites that would be
 a horrifying assertion. It has several
 politically incorrect assumptions.

First, the assertion that we are an
 American civilization. We are the successor to
 Western civilization. We are more open,
 more future oriented, more inclined toward
 technology and entrepreneurialism and
 less hierarchical, we are optimistic and
 integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat
 Sajak, from Gary Frank to Henry Bonilla,
 from Eleanor Roosevelt to Louis Sullivan
 America is the most universal, most
 integrationist, most opportunity oriented

— More

Exhibit 44

NR3

Society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, Decay of American civilization asserts that we can make a distinction between decay and progress. Clinton L. Rusk to describe change as our friend but in his inaugural but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

We can make moral judgments. Learning is progress. Illiteracy is decay. Wellness is progress. Drug addiction is decay. Self control is progress. Violent crime is decay.

Lastly, by asserting American civilization rather than a racist multicultural claim to be the situation ethics of historic judgments. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim reminders that humans can be vicious, brutal and savage to each other. Apartheid in Washington, D.C. and in Atlanta and East LA are reminders that Americans can return to barbaric behaviors and vicious brutality with frightening speed.

We must assert unequivocally and decisively that every American must learn thoroughly the principles, practices and history of American civilization. Only then can we insure the continued existence of a Free Society.

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American civilization we should study other civilizations.

As a PhD in European History I have

Exhibit 44

NRY

Favor study, say, other cultures. But
often culturalism is very different
from anti-culturalism because we
start with the belief that American civilization
is the most powerful creator of prosperity,
freedom and safety in human history
and must be studied first.

So our generation's rendezvous
with history ~~must~~ is to launch
a movement to renew American civilization

We must insist that to be
American is to be free, productive and
safe.

We must insist that American
civilization means freedom, productivity,
and safety for all Americans.

Today we are failing to meet these
standards both for the individual and
for our country.

~~Renewing~~
~~Reestablishing our freedom~~
~~Freedom, productivity and safety is the ideal~~
American civilization is the central
challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us most Americans
~~are~~ want to sustain and renew
American civilization.

"As Everett Ruess noted in his
essay ~~on the American~~ recently

More -
Exhibit 44

NRS

Only 22% of the 1992 voters favored
Expanding government while 68%
Favor a restraint on government.

In the Atlanta Constitution poll last
year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare
recipients should be required to work,
including women with young children" 51%
of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said.

In New York now we are seeing
family and neighborhood groups rebel against
the government's efforts to pass on brainwash
their children against their own values. New
anti-brainwashing rebels will be the 1990s
what the anti-brainwashing rebels were in the 1960s
and 1970s.

So we do have a vast majority in
favor of renewing American civilization.
We also have the advantage of
standing on the shoulders of Buckley,
Goldwater and Reagan.

We are far more numerous and
experienced than we were in 1960 or 1976.

PNAs are ready to launch a
21st century conservatism that will
renew American civilization, transform
America from a welfare state into an
opportunity society and create a conservative
governing majority.

There are 5 pillars of 21st
Century American Civilization. If we
systematically study them and use
them to transform government
and the law we can offer a better
lifestyle with a higher standard of
living at lower cost and with greater

Exhibit 44

MORE

NR7

wealth and productivity. For ^{poor} ~~poor~~ ^{minorities} ~~minorities~~ entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. This is understood strongly by most 2nd Blacks and Asians, partially by Latinos and to a tragically small degree by ~~many~~ ^{most} of the American black community. ~~For women entrepreneurs~~ For women entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling. If you own it you can change it. In government the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services entrepreneurship will consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care would lower costs and create better health for less. IN Job Training McDonald's Solutions

Fourth, the principles of American civilization must be learned and practiced if we are to remain the freest and most prosperous and most integrated society in history. We have daily reminders both at home and abroad that civilization requires learning, practicing and reinforcing. The work ethic, the possibility for their children, intense efforts to protect the innocent and isolated and control the criminal, patriotism, the practice of self government, all of these steps are vital. They can be summarized in one word we can apply to every proposed policy:

Does it help people to be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be more prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is yes it is a constructive proposal. If ~~no~~ ^{no}

Exhibit 44

NR-8

it is a destructive proposal - note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity, and safety. civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. There is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the poor need psychological strength even more than rich. ~~Current system outside only the military~~ ~~has no training~~

Every thing else will fail. We fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength.

Now we face the challenge of translating our 5 pillars of 21st century American civilization into reality -

Romans thought we do virtue of focus, narrowly and with great discipline on no more than 3 big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time atop opposing destructive ideas proposals that will increase the decay. However we must vigorously discipline ourselves to spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the left.

The now important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of Quality, Technology, and representation, American principles and psychological strength to

Exhibit 44

Nk-9

Just three big topics.

~~It will solve the problems of economic growth~~

If we will develop solutions
 Ent-economic growth, ^{with objectives} health, and 3-
 saving the inner city we will decisively
 triumph. At that point either
 Clinton will adopt our solutions or the
 country will fire the President
 who keeps subsidies decay and blocks progress

~~The choice is up to us~~~~For
the border~~

A movement that offers solutions
 on economic growth, health and the
 inner city will then earn the right to work
 in other areas.

Pratt
 Comm
 Hatter

We must renew American civilization
 by communicating with, studying, and
 applying these success stories to develop
 programs of dramatic that will lead to
 dramatic progress, from individuals,
 families, communities and then communicate
 these principles and these opportunities so
 that the American people have a
 clear choice between progress and
 decay, renewal and decline, prosperity
 and ruin, safety and freedom
 within American civilization versus
 decay, decline, economic weakness,
 violent crime and bureaucratic
 domination within a multi-cultural elite.

Exhibit 44

Mon

NR-10

Given that choice our ~~unwavering~~
 for the ~~renewing~~ American civilization will
 not just win the White House in 1998
 it we will elect people at all levels
 dedicated to constructive proposals.
~~The~~ ~~challenge~~ of NAZIS lost to
 Freedom. The Soviet Empire lost to
 Freedom. With our courage and our
~~persistence~~ ~~persistence~~ we can ensure that the
 decay of the welfare state will lose to
 Freedom. That is what is at stake
 Why it matters.

I M. V. Zant to
 Review Amer civ
 your house
 you - J. V.
 your ~~house~~

EXHIBIT 45



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 103^d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 139

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

No. 7

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 26, 1993, at 12 noon.

House of Representatives

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

The House met at 12 noon.

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 22, 1993.
I hereby designate the Honorable STEPHEN H. ROYER to act as Speaker pro tempore on Monday, January 25, 1993.

THOMAS S. POLEY,
Speaker of the
House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O gracious Lord, from whom comes every good gift, we offer our thanks for this new day and all its possibilities. May we use our time and energies to heal and not hurt, to seek unity and not division, to respect and not disparage, and to discover anew the bonds of solidarity and harmony that give us purpose and strength. Bless us this day and every day, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. COBLE) to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. COBLE led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

JANUARY 22, 1993.

Hon. THOMAS POLEY,
Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: It has been a pleasure and honor for me to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. As you know, I have resigned today to serve in the President's Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. I hope to continue to work with you in my new position and I thank you for your leadership through the years.

Please find enclosed my resignation letter to Mississippi Governor Kirk Fordice. As I have written to Governor Fordice, I have accepted my new position with enthusiasm but also with a sense of tremendous gratitude and humility for the trust and confidence that the voters of my district have placed in me over the years. In the many votes I have cast and the many actions I have taken on their behalf, I have always tried to reflect credit on the 2nd Congressional District and on the great state of Mississippi.

It has been the ultimate honor for me to be a part of our country's history by serving in

the U.S. House of Representatives. I look forward to continuing to serve my country in my new position and working with you and my former colleagues in Congress.

Sincerely,

MIKE EFTY,
Secretary of Agriculture.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC, January 21, 1993.
Hon. MIKE FORDICE,
Governor of Mississippi, State Capitol, Jackson, MS.

DEAR GOVERNOR FORDICE: For the past six years, I have had the privilege of representing the people of the 2nd Congressional District in the Congress of the United States. In the many votes I have cast and the many actions I have taken on their behalf, I have always tried to reflect credit on the 2nd Congressional District and on our great state of Mississippi.

As you are aware, I recently have been nominated by the President of the United States and confirmed by the United States Senate to serve in the President's Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. As such, I am requesting and do hereby submit my resignation as United States Congressman effective upon my taking the oath of office on Friday, January 22, 1993, at approximately 10 a.m. EST.

Although I have accepted the new position with enthusiasm, I leave my House seat with a sense of tremendous gratitude and humility for the trust and confidence that the voters of my district have placed in me over the years.

I assure you and the citizens of Mississippi that I will continue to be an advocate and strong ally for all legitimate needs of the people of Mississippi.

Sincerely,

MIKE EFTY,
Member of Congress,
Secretary of Agriculture-Designate.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Marker set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

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LIP 00036

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

January 25, 1993

RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 21, 1993.
Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Attached is the letter I have sent to the Governor of California notifying him of my resignation from the U.S. House of Representatives effective 6 p.m. today.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA,
Member of Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 21, 1993.
Gov. PETER WILSON,
State Capitol, Sacramento, CA.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Having been nominated by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, I resign as U.S. Representative of the 17th Congressional District of California effective 6:00 p.m. today.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA,
Member of Congress.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-1) on the resolution (H. Res. 19) to establish the Select Committee on Aging, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-2) on the resolution (H. Res. 30) to establish the Select Committee on Aging, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-3) on the resolution (H. Res. 23) to establish the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-4) on the resolution (H. Res. 19) to establish the Select Committee on Hunger, which was referred

to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-5) on the resolution (H. Res. 20) to establish the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 22, 1993.
Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 1 of Rule XII of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House on Thursday, January 21, 1993 at 4:40 p.m. and said to contain a message from the President whereby he notifies the Congress of his decision of the maximum deficit amount under the Balanced Budget and Emergency Control Act of 1985.

With great respect, I am
Sincerely yours,

DONALD E. ANDERSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

NOTIFICATION OF ADJUSTMENT OF MAXIMUM DEFICIT AMOUNT OF BUDGET—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States: which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 254(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended ("Act") (2 U.S.C. 904(c)), notification is hereby provided by my decision that the adjustment of the maximum deficit amount, as allowed under section 253(g)(1)(B) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 903(g)(1)(B)), shall be made.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON,
The White House, January 21, 1993.

TRIBUTE TO JUSTICE THURGOOD MARSHALL

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise

and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that we read in the morning paper of the passing of Justice Thurgood Marshall. Justice Marshall was truly one of the giants of the civil rights movement in the United States. He was born in Baltimore 84 years ago of modest family background. His mother was a schoolteacher and his father a steward in a yacht club. He fought his way through college, through law school, and in 1961 was the NAACP lawyer that went to the Supreme Court and won very probably the greatest civil rights decision in history, Brown versus Board of Education.

In 1967, Lyndon Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court. From then until his retirement 14 years ago because of ill health, he continued as truly one of the great giants in American history.

I can remember many times going before the Court in the modest duties that we have in Congress when we must swear in a constituent. It was always a great thrill to see Thurgood Marshall sitting on the Court and to reflect on the great contributions he had made throughout his life for equality, for fair play, and for our constitutional rights as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the well-written article from the Washington Post this morning about his life.

THURGOOD MARSHALL, RETIRED JUSTICE, DIES
(By Joan Bakopis)

Retired Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, a relentless voice for minorities whose six-decade legal career was emblematic of the civil rights revolution, died yesterday of heart failure.

He was 84 years old and had been retired since June 1991. Marshall had been in failing health in recent months. He died at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, where he had been since Thursday. He had planned to administer the oath of office to Vice President Gore last Wednesday, but could not because of his condition.

Marshall, who was born in Baltimore the son of an elementary school teacher and yacht-club steward, went on to become one of the most important figures in civil rights history, first as a lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and then as the first black Supreme Court justice. He was known for both his sense of humor and his impatience over the ongoing struggle of blacks in America.

"He was somebody who had absolutely no sense of his own importance," said Louis Michael Beitzman, a former Marshall clerk who is now a Georgetown University constitutional law professor. "He held an unusual combination of reverence for the American justice system and a realization that his people were excluded."

In 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Marshall to the court. During his 24-year tenure, he was the only black justice. He was replaced by Clarence Thomas, also a black man, but one who adopted a judicial approach that is the opposite of Marshall's liberalism.

Marshall's record on the court was consistent: Always the defender of individual rights

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know what that means. If a populist means to be a liberal, of course; if a liberal means what the World Dictionary means, and that is a friend of the people, absolutely. They are the ones that elect me.

□ 1330

I want to be their friend because I have a trust, and I maintain that trust. They have entrusted me. I will keep faith with them. That is it. It is no more complicated than that.

In fact, I will remind my colleagues that those of us in this great American democracy that have been entrusted on our judgment day will have only one question to answer, and none other, and that is, were you for the people or were you against the people? That is all, nothing more, nothing less. That is what the shooting is all about, but you would not recognize it nowadays.

In this letter to President Clinton I asked him to help with another reform that I have been espousing for years, and that is reform of our regulatory system. We have the OCC, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, that goes back to 1863. Then we have the Federal Reserve Board that wants to be our central bank, setting the monetary policy, and the related policies that only a central bank does in any country, and at the same time a regulator. I said, "You cannot serve two masters faithfully and well. Either you are one or you are the other." The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency is under the Secretary of Treasury. That is a political office, so it is not immune from political pressures. Then we have the FDIC and we have the others.

Therefore, we find these agencies sometimes fighting for turf, overlapping, but none doing the job that late 20th century America demands and will have, and if it won't, it is doomed, let me tell you that.

It sounds ironic, as we are reaching the end not only of a century but of a whole thousand-year period, that we would be looking back at one of the bloodiest and darkest centuries for mankind in its history, and looking into the 21st century with not much more unless we change.

America, facing a reversion, ironically, and I have said this several times, we have gone back to the mercantile system we were in during the colonial period up until 1914, when we for the first time became a creditor nation.

In 1985, on September 16, the Department of Commerce announced that the United States was again a debtor nation for the first time since 1914.

Mr. Speaker, for the record I include a memorandum related to these subjects:

To: Member House Banking Committee.
From: House Banking Committee Staff.
Date: January 23, 1993.
Subject: Banking Committee--1993 Issues.

This memorandum briefly outlines major issues the Banking Committee addressed in the 102nd Congress and is likely to address in the 103rd Congress.

A. FUNDING THE TRUST INSURANCE PROCESS AND THE DEPOSIT INSURANCE FUNDS

The Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) was established in 1989 to resolve all savings associations which are declared insolvent through September 30, 1993; the RTC itself will terminate not later than December 31, 1994. The bulk of the RTC's work after September 30, 1993 will be asset disposition and closing out receiverships.

The Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) was initially provided with \$50 billion in the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989. The RTC received an additional \$30 billion in March, 1991 and an additional \$25 billion was provided in December, 1991 with an April, 1992 cut off date for using the funds. The RTC was able to use only \$7 billion of the \$25 billion. Last year, the RTC requested a total of \$43 billion, composed of \$23 billion of new money plus the remaining \$18 billion that would be freed by lifting the April date cap. That funding request was approved by the Banking Committee but rejected by the House. Consequently, the RTC has been operating without funds since April, 1992; since that date, the RTC has been able to place institutions into conservatorship but not resolve them.

SAIF--At September 1992, the cost of resolving insolvent savings associations will be borne by the Savings Association Insurance Funds (SAIF). The SAIF has not been funded by the Bush Administration; it has virtually a zero net worth. SAIF funding should be included in RTC funding to ensure that additional amounts are not needed down the road.

Current estimates of how much is needed to complete the savings association resolution process vary widely. The best guess of how much is needed for the RTC and the SAIF is \$30 to \$46 billion.

Policy issues surrounding the RTC include asset dispositions--securitization and bulk sales and whether to extend or accelerate the termination date of the RTC.

B. FAIR CREDIT REPORTING ACT

H.R. 3586, introduced last Congress and considered on the House floor, reformed the credit reporting industry in several important aspects: (1) It increased consumer access to credit reports by establishing a toll free number for consumers to communicate with the major credit bureaus, by providing for standardized forms for credit reports, and by capping the costs of consumer reports; (2) It provided for enhanced privacy protection for consumers by limiting target marketing and prescreening; and (3) It enhanced the accuracy of information in credit reports by holding furnishers of information accountable for the quality of information they provide to credit bureaus.

H.R. 3586 was passed by the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs and Coinsurance with an amendment to override any related state laws, including those laws that provide stronger consumer protections than the federal standards. That preemption provision was strongly opposed by the consumer advocacy groups and every state attorney general. The preemption provision remained intact at the full committee level, and ultimately remained in the bill during floor consideration by a vote of 203-207. Following the vote, Chairman Torrance of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee pulled the bill and prevented further consideration.

Congressman Torrance plans to introduce similar legislation in the 103rd Congress where it is likely to be considered by the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee.

C. INTERSTATE BANKING AND BRANCHING

The Banking Committee reported comprehensive banking legislation in the 102nd

Congress which included authority for interstate banking and branching. The legislation was defeated by the House. Legislative proposals to permit interstate banking and branching are likely to be presented to the Committee this year.

Interstate banking--permitting bank holding companies to own banks in several states--is currently accomplished through regional compact. Legislation to impose conditions on interstate banking may be considered.

Interstate branching would permit a bank to branch nationwide. The questions of whether this should be permitted and, if so, what conditions should be imposed, remain contentious. Policy issues include whether states should be allowed to affirmatively permit (opt in) or affirmatively reject (opt out) interstate branching; how to ensure credit availability to traditionally underserved groups and communities; increased concentration, safety and soundness; and the export of state powers such as bank insurance powers to other states.

D. FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1991

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991 (FDICIA) was the major legislation passed by the Committee in the 102nd Congress. The legislation provided a \$30 billion line of credit to the Bank Insurance Fund, which line has not been drawn on to date, required least cost resolution of failed banks and thrifts, and instituted a system of prompt corrective action. Prompt corrective action is a system of mandatory regulatory interventions designed to ensure that institutions have sufficient capital, that they not be given the opportunity to grow out of problems and are closed in a timely manner, reducing the losses to the deposit insurance funds.

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOPERSKI). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGRICH) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about renewing American civilization. American civilization is decaying and it must be renewed. In Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words, our generation has a rendezvous with destiny, and I believe for our generation that rendezvous is to renew American civilization.

In 1940 the greatest threat to freedom was from Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. Americans rallied and freedom won. In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was from the Soviet empire. Americans committed themselves to nearly a half century of containment, to maintaining a strong military, and at the end of that time the Soviet empire collapsed and freedom won. My dad spent 24 years in the U.S. Army during that period, clearly seeing his career in defense of freedom.

Today the greatest threat to freedom is here at home. The decay of American civilization is undermining our very capacity to have economic productivity, our capacity to have a decent, safe society here at home, our capacity to project assistance abroad to help other people.

LIP 00014

Exhibit 45

It is impossible for a country in which 12-year-olds have children, in which neighborhoods are dominated by violent gangs, in which drug addiction runs rampant, many schools graduate people who cannot read, and there is a crisis of an AIDS epidemic; in that environment it is impossible in the long run to sustain American civilization.

Yet, the future of freedom is at stake. Without America, there will be more Somalia, more Somalia, more Iraq. We are the only country large enough, complex enough, multiracial enough, to truly provide leadership for freedom across the planet. If we weaken, if we lose our will, if we lose our economic strength, if we lose our capacity, there is no one to replace us.

We see grimly already in Sarajevo and Mogadishu, across the planet, the dangers of what will happen if American civilization falters and weakens. Yet, without reverting American civilization here at home we cannot continue to promote and sustain freedom abroad, because power assistance abroad requires a powerful, healthy society and economy here at home.

Yet the objective fact is that American civilization is decaying. This simple statement, American civilization is decaying, will be politically incorrect on many campuses for three reasons. First, it implies there is an American civilization. Second, it implies that civilization takes learning; third, it implies that American civilization is particularly worth learning about.

Let me expand on each of these three. First, American civilization implies that there is an American civilization, yet we are the successor to Western civilization. Western civilization, in many ways, with roots in Greek and Roman culture, coming up through the Judeo-Christian tradition, was a Northwestern European Caucasian civilization. It projected power across the planet beginning around 1500, but in fact, ultimately it was and remained a European phenomenon.

American civilization is quite different. It is continentwide, not simply an area the size of Europe but the size of all America, extending into the Pacific. It is multiracial, not merely Caucasian. It has many cultural traditions blended into one unifying civilization.

It is impossible to think of being American without recognizing that, whether it is in our food, in our music, in our clothing, in our history, in our anecdotes, in our movies, again and again, we are a blend from many places into this one magnificent system. We are in fact the most integrating society in the world. Colin Powell, Pat Boone, Henry Bonilla, Jack Kemp, all are Americans, although Americans with different historic backgrounds.

American civilization is more optimistic, more future-oriented, more open, more upwardly mobile. It has less class consciousness. It is more concerned, as Martin Luther King, Jr., said, about the content of our character than the color of our skin. I

think that is a very important point to remember. This is a society that, more than any society in history, has attempted to reach out to every person of every background and attempted to provide the opportunity to rise; and while in many ways we fail, we recognize it is a failure because our standard, our goal, our yardstick, is to give every American an opportunity to live a better future, something which virtually no society applies to all of its people.

Therefore, I would assert there is an American civilization, and it stands on the shoulders of Western civilization, but it includes in its heritage many other cultures, histories, and ethnicities.

Second, civilization takes learning. It takes time and effort to learn to be an American. I was really struck with this in looking at Somalia. A friend of mine, Owen Roberts, who is a management consultant and long-range planner of great wisdom, was telling me how struck he was by the early pictures of our efforts in Somalia when it hit him that the day before the Americans arrived there were going to be 8 million hungry Somalians, 2 million in danger of starving to death. After we arrived, there would be 8 million Somalians being fed, but they would not have learned any of the additional habits of self-government.

□ 1340

They would not have learned any of the additional requirements of productivity. They would not have learned any of the additional needs of being able to live together in a responsible way. But while they would not be fed, they would still lack the basic necessities of civilization which are the structure we take for granted which allow us to live together to be productive.

Now, what is true in Somalia is also true in Anacostia right across the river here in Washington. To learn to be productive, to learn to be responsible, to learn to live in safety by enforcing the rules within your community, to learn to have self-government; each of these requires a considerable amount of time and effort and can be learned, but are not automatic.

To learn to abide by the rules of self-government, that is why the power of last week's inaugural ceremony was so emotional. There is a magic to our ability to have one party, one side, in the White House, in the Oval Office with the most powerful military machine in the history of the human race, and magically at exactly 12 o'clock on January 20, under our Constitution, to transfer all of that power, to transfer that office to the other party.

I was here as a sophomore in 1960, and I saw that magic when President Jimmy Carter left, and President Ronald Reagan came in, and I was here again last week as the second-ranking Member of the House Republican leadership watching the same magic, as

after 12 years, the Republicans walked out of the White House and the Democrats and President Clinton walked in. And it is magic.

If you think it is not, look at Somalia, look at Haiti, look at Iraq, look across the planet. There are very few places in the history of the human race where those with power have voluntarily subordinated themselves to the abstract rules of giving in to their opponents. Only in the last 200 years has it begun to be relatively common, and it is still not the fate of a majority of humans. We are getting close to a majority, but as all of us know, in many of the countries it is very fragile and very thin; and in fact, again, here at home we face these dangers not only by other countries like Somalia and Haiti and Iraq, as grim reminders of the cost of civilizations collapsing, but so were the gangs in east Los Angeles and the gang violence in Teohwood Housing in Atlanta.

The fact is to know how to grow up, to discipline yourself, to subordinate yourself to the rules, to be part of a larger process of self-government, to focus your energy and drive and discipline on trying to be productive within a framework of not harming others, all of that is a set of learned skills and learned behaviors, and for two generations we have failed to strengthen them, to teach them, and to assert them.

So I just want to say that if you will agree that there is an American civilization, that requires that you also agree that this is a civilization worth learning, because after all, you cannot sustain any civilization beyond one generation. All it takes is the next generation refusing to learn or not being taught, and the whole process begins to fall apart. I would suggest that to study American history is to study a set of attitudes and values of practices and principles which are at the heart of prosperity and self-government.

The key question is simply: Does a proposed policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness? Let me repeat that: Does a proposed policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is yes, then that proposed policy is constructive. If the answer is no, then it is destructive.

Let me break this into two key parts. First, all we can guarantee in a free society is the pursuit of happiness. One of the great failings of totalitarian regimes, of all too many of our friends of the counterculture on the left is that they want to guarantee happiness. They seek equal outcomes when, in fact, you cannot guarantee happiness. Happiness is between you and your God. Happiness is of the spiritual world, not the secular. The most secular state can do, is create a framework in which there is a greater chance

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to be happy, and clearly if you are in an American suburb in a good job, in a nice neighborhood with your kids in a good school, living in safety, you are more likely to have a chance to pursue happiness than if you are starving in Somalia or being shot at in Bosnia. But the key principle which is that government can create a framework in which you can pursue happiness and you can seek, through your own religious beliefs, to accommodate yourself to life and to come to understand what happiness is, but the state cannot guarantee or give you happiness is a very key part of American civilization.

The second point I would make about that sentence is that prosperity and freedom are not gifts. All too often we hear politicians say, "Elect me, and you will be prosperous." I want to suggest to you that except for a brief period where we transfer wealth, where we steal from one to give to another, there can, in fact, be no prosperity in and of itself, nor can there be freedom in and of itself. Prosperity and freedom are contingent on the habits of responsibility, productivity, and safety.

Only by helping people become responsible, helping them become productive, and helping them become safe can we truly help them achieve prosperity and freedom.

All too often politicians and academics focus on how we get to prosperity and freedom without building the underlying foundation, the key structure, which is at the essence of prosperity and freedom. So I would argue that every policy should be looked at, and the question should be asked: Does this policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness?

And then I would apply not the issue, is it ideologically right or ideologically wrong, but, rather, is it constructive to people, or is it destructive to the way they behave. By the way, I really got turned on to this approach by reading the 1913 Girl Scout Manual. My wife and I were in Savannah a number of years ago; we went to Juliette Low's house. They sell a reproduction of the 1913 Girl Scout Manual, and when you read the ground rules for life written for girls in 1913, it is a very profound document.

First of all, it is entitled "What Every Girl Can Do For Her Country," and in that sense it is a clearly patriotic, pro-American national view, pro-American concern, trying to teach every young girl, and this, by the way, was in one of our peak periods of immigration when the effort to assimilate and bring everyone together as Americans was particularly important.

Second, it had two rules which I remember reading in 1961 that were just stunning. The first was, and this was pre equal rights amendment, this was pre what we think of in the modern age as women's liberation, and the first one was this, according to the 1913 Girl Scout Manual, that every girl should

learn two trades so that if one dies, she can earn a living at the other. Now, think about how many people know who have taken 26 weeks of unemployment, gone deer hunting and bass fishing, not spent the 26 weeks in college, not spent the 26 weeks at a vocational school, not spent the 26 weeks getting a new vocation or starting a new business or learning a new trade, but then turned around at the end of the 26 weeks and said, "I need 26 more, because I am still waiting."

By contrast, in 1913 for young girls, the Girl Scout Manual was saying, "You need to always know a minimum of two trades so you can always earn a living even if one of your trades becomes obsolete."

Second, the manual emphasized saving a minimum of one penny a week. Now, a penny back then would probably be, in inflated money, 25 cents today, but the principle that drove that was this, that the act of budgeting and saving changes your perspective on life and changes your perspective on time, and teaches you discipline and teaches you over time how you can get ahead.

Now, I would suggest to you to go into any elementary or high school in America today and say to people, "You had better plan to learn two trades so that if one of them dies, you are going to have the second one, and you had better be saving at least a quarter a week, because you need the discipline, you need the experience, you need the long-term time perspective." You would be laughed at as terribly old-fashioned.

I would also suggest that the basic underlying lessons of the Girl Scout Manual of 1913 apply directly to how America got sick and why American civilization is decaying, and you cannot renew American civilization until we have the moral courage to go back and to insist on these core lessons of how people ought to behave and what people ought to do.

Let me say that civilization can be learned, and American civilization must be learned. In fact, it is the key to assimilating immigrants.

Let me say again that the key challenge in America with people who come from all over the world is not how many arrive but how fast do they become Americans. If we go back to being a country that is truly a melting pot, a country in which every immigrant learns English, a country in which everybody becomes habitually and, by practice, an American, a country in which we integrate and assimilate and bring together everyone, then, frankly, there is no worry about immigration. They are just new Americans with new energy and new drive and new hopes and new dreams, creating new wealth and new prosperity, and they make the whole country stronger.

It is only when the assimilating and integrating capacities of America start to slow down, it is only when we fail to teach the principles and practices and

habits of being American that there has to be any kind of concern about immigrants. But that concern is not just about immigrants. Note the problems that we have in teen gangs. Teenage gangs are a function of the failure to structure schools, government, the law, and society, to teach American civilization.

□ 1350

And it is every one of those. It does you no good to have a textbook in a classroom and have every lesson learned out in the real world undermine the textbook. We have to have laws which encourage the work ethic, we have to have laws which encourage families and encourage male responsibility for their children, we have to have laws to encourage learning and encourage retraining, we have to have laws which are very, very tough on criminals and drug dealers.

Only by having the law as a great teacher do we enforce the school, can we in fact expect people to truly learn American civilization. If effect, because we have not had the courage and the integrity and the discipline to insist on American civilization, what we have happening in all too many of our greater cities is the equivalent of the "Lord of Flies" supplied with submachine guns. Young males who do not have a hierarchy to join will form one on their own if adults do not create hierarchies and bring males into those hierarchies; this is why initiation rites matter. It is why in every healthy society there is a conscious effort to worry about young males of puberty and to bring them into adult society in a way which makes them adult. By creating a gap in which there is no way for young males to become bonded and to become initiated into being an adult American, we have created literally "Lord of the Flies" at a level of incredible violence and incredible savagery that has saddened every single person.

Let me also say, the ability to integrate and assimilate, to initiate into American civilization, is not automatic. There are many countries in the world which do not accept outsiders almost no matter how long they stay. We are the most unique country in our willingness and our ability to bring people in and absorb them. But we are losing that ability both with our young in the cities and with immigrants across the board. We have to go back and rethink carefully how can we reestablish American civilization in its full dynamic as the most integrating society on the planet.

Third, having asserted first that there is an American civilization and, second, that American civilization must be learned by each generation, I believe that it is necessary to replace multiculturalism with other culturalism. This is not just a play on words, not just putting "other" in front of "culturalism" instead of "multiculturalism" and walking out with a grin.

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much. The difference is very, very clear and very simple.

Multiculturalism is the equivalent of situation ethics applied to civilization. It assumes cultures are equal morally and it assumes you can lump American civilization in with other cultures and other civilizations so that we can devote one-fifth or one-tenth or one-fiftieth of our students' time to America while concurrently denying other equally important and equally useful cultures, so that each student would sort of invent their own version of civilization by taking what they thought was useful from all of them.

Let me say, first, American civilization must be studied first and be thoroughly mastered before we can move on to other topics; and, second, that American civilization is in fact a more powerful, a more humane, and a more desirable form of civilization. Let me first explain why American civilization should be studied first and thoroughly mastered before moving on to other topics.

The biggest and most important reason for doing that is because this is where we live, it is where we are, it is our home. Learning to be American, learning to succeed as an American, learning to participate in self-government, to live in a diverse, complex society has to take precedence if our children are to grow into responsible, productive, safe citizens capable of sustaining the civil life of a free society.

When you read the entry level exams of freshmen at some of the elite colleges and universities and you realize that a quarter of them were not aware that Lincoln gave the Gettysburg Address, that a significant number were not sure whether the Revolutionary War and the Civil War were the same event; that on item after item naming both Senators for your State, naming one or more Supreme Court Justices, knowing where the Supreme Court is between the State and Federal Government, it you take item after item of the most basic principles of American life and the current education system has collapsed so disastrously in terms of teaching American civilization that we are literally not giving young people, even elite young people going to the best schools with the best education, the kind of grounding in American civilization which they need.

But, second, I would argue you should learn American civilization thoroughly first because it is in fact better than its predecessors. The racism of Western civilization, the savagery of Aztec sacrifice, the caste system of classic Indian civilization, the oppression of women in Iran, the mutilation of young women in some societies, these practices are less humane, less decent, and less desirable than American civilization.

I think it is useful to first learn about ourselves and about what we do and about what we value, and then, frankly—and I have a doctorate in European history, I taught both world

history and European history—I believe you should learn about other civilizations, but you should learn about them within the framework of your own American civilization and after having first thoroughly come to understand it.

Establishing the legitimacy of American civilization as a yardstick is important because it is the basis of reestablishing two key words, the word progress and the word decay. And I have to thank Jeff Eisenach, a brilliant young intellectual who first pointed this out to me.

Progress as a word is very, very common in the Western World up to 1914; it died somewhere between the trenches of France on the western front in World War I and the horrors of Auschwitz in Eastern Germany and Poland in World War II. Progress disappeared. We got into a system that said, "Well, there is no progress." In fact, there is a book entitled "The Death of Progress," which is a study of how the word disappeared.

Now, if you do not have progress, you also do not have decay. It is inappropriate to talk about the decay of the inner cities, the decay of our schools, the decay of our government bureaucracies, because this again implies a standard, and who are we to judge. And yet if you do not have progress and you do not have decay, you do not have the yardstick, you have no way of saying whether the next thing is better or worse. If there is no yardstick, there is a long-term tendency for people in fact to drift into barbarism and savagery.

Progress is linked to constructive and decay is linked to destructive. And the two have to come together and have to be part of the same system and the same procedures. Without progress, how do you know something is destructive? Without decay, how do you know something is constructive?

So we need a yardstick. Now, if there is an American civilization, the question is: Is it decaying? I have talked in the last month or so about the decay of American civilization, and I have yet to have a single audience in which somebody got up and said, "Oh, we are really not decaying." In every audience I have talked to there is virtually universal agreement that we are in fact in enormous danger of decay.

Let me give you one example. There was a teachers' survey, this is in school, and they were asked the question, "What are the leading problems in your school?" In 1940 here are the three answers. In 1940 the teachers said the top three problems in school were: One, littering; two, noise; three, chewing gum.

In 1972, the same survey was asked of teachers. Here are their answers: One, rapes; two, assault; three, teenage suicide.

Let me just suggest to you unequivocally—and I would debate anyone anywhere on the following assertion—to go from littering to rape is decay, to go

from noise to assault is decay, to go from chewing gum to teenage suicide is decay.

We are faced with the objective fact that, available every night on virtually every television newscast all over America that, American civilization is in fact decaying.

The National School Board Association is in town. They asked the question this year, "What do you think is the biggest single problem in education?" And like all good educational bureaucracies, they would hope the people would respond, "We need more money." Well, 22 percent said understanding is the key problem; 6 percent said it was drugs, discipline and gangs. Forty-eight percent said drugs, discipline and gangs are the biggest problems in American schools. And in fact 3 percent listed gangs as their biggest problem.

Now, think about an America where 9 percent of the schools list teenage gangs, 9 percent of the parents list teenage gangs as the biggest problem in their school. If that is not decay, what is?

Science magazine reported about a month ago that in the last 10 years the ability of Americans to do math as compared to the Japanese and Chinese has not improved one bit. We have had 10 years of a nation at risk, we have had 10 years of politicians talking about education, we have had 10 years of spending more money on education, we have had 10 years of discussion, and the fact is that as of today we have not improved our mathematical abilities compared to Japan and China at all.

Now, I would suggest to you unequivocally that American civilization cannot survive as a country in which 12-year-olds have children without preparation, schools give people diplomas when they are illiterate, a significant number of our young are drug-addicted, there are neighborhoods so violent that we cannot create new jobs, there is an AIDS epidemic which is 90 percent avoidable by behavioral change, and all too many of our young have a sense of hopelessness which leads them to assume, accurately in some cities, that since they are going to die before they are 20, there is no point in planning for the long run.

□ 1400

That collection of problems is in fact the crisis for the future, so I do assert American civilization is decaying.

To paraphrase Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our generation's rendezvous with destiny is to dedicate ourselves to renewing American civilization. We need a movement dedicated to renewing American civilization.

I think it will take 2 million or more active citizen leaders to insist on and insure the renewal of American civilization.

Let me say, I think that renewal needs to be cultural. It needs to be social. It needs to be educational. It needs to be economic. It needs to be

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governmental and it needs to be political.

This is not just an act of renewing involving politics and politicians and votes. It is everywhere from what does your local school teach to what does your alma mater teach, to what do you hear on radio and television, to what happens with your local club and your local civic organization, to what are your governments and your politicians doing.

I believe that when you look at the 21st Century that there are five pillars of renewing American civilization. The five are simple.

First, quality as defined by Edwards Deming.

Second, technological advancement.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization.

Fifth, psychological strength. Let me expand on those for just a moment.

First, quality as defined by Edwards Deming. Deming is the man who taught the Japanese the concept of quality. He describes it as profound knowledge. It is truly quality with a capital Q. It is not just doing things right. It is an entire way of thinking about your customer, your supplier, your business, your job, your relation with your fellow employees. It is a set of behaviors which allows us to provide for less cost, faster service, higher quality, greater satisfaction.

I would assert and I do not know of any quality expert who disagrees with me, that if we were to apply quality to education, to health and to government, we would lower the deficit by 50 percent within 3 or 4 years, while actually improving services, improving health, improving learning and creating a better customer satisfaction with the bureaucracy.

Quality is a dramatically different way of approaching things, and I will be talking about it more in the next few weeks. Let me give just one or two quick historic examples.

The Ford Motor Co., and this is described by Peterson in a tremendous book called "A Better Idea," very simple, easy, understandable reading, in which he outlines how quality and Deming applied profound knowledge to the Ford Motor Co. The Ford Motor Co. last year had 9 of the 10 most efficient factories in the United States in the auto industry. Nissan had the 10th. The Ford Motor Co. now rivals Toyota as the most productive automotive company in the world.

Why? Because they profoundly reexamined what they were doing, how they were working, how they related to their customers, how they related to suppliers, and they have changed the fundamental culture of the Ford Motor Co. Peterson describes it brilliantly in his book. I would simply suggest that every American citizen has to become familiar with the concept of quality and with Deming's work. Every American citizen has to think how does this

apply to my life, to my neighborhood, to my community, to my government.

In education, we need to rethink learning from the ground up.

In health, we need to re-think the entire process of having a healthy nation from the ground up, and in government there is no reason that we cannot have as large a downsizing of the New York City bureaucracy, the Georgia State bureaucracy and the Federal bureaucracy, downsizing comparable to Ford, IBM, General Motors, or Xerox.

Let me just point out one of the great intellectual failures of the welfare state is the fact that sacrifice was talked of in the inaugural address last week, but the only people so far who are going to sacrifice are working tax-paying Americans. Nobody has yet said let us have basic change in the fundamental structure of the bureaucracy. Let us apply Deming's concepts of profound knowledge.

This is not a question of more or less. With quality, you actually get better services and better customer satisfaction and more productivity, while using fewer resources and fewer people. It is as big a revolution for the 21st century as the assembly line and Henry Ford and Taylor's scientific management were at the beginning of the 20th century. It is a fundamental revolution.

Second, technological advance. You know, America has been the most prototechnological society in the history of the world. The fact is that Desert Storm was largely a victory of technology. It was 19- and 30-year-old Americans in M-1 tanks with infrared vision seeing 3,000 meters out on a foggy morning to kill a T-72 tank which literally could not see them. It was F-117s that were invisible to the Iraqi radar sitting over Baghdad with laser-guided bombs and television-guided bombs, putting them in windows of buildings when the Iraqis could not even find the F-117s.

It was a level of electronic information, command and control, that put us in a different world from the Iraqis.

Technology has always been good for Americans, from Benjamin Franklin who invented the bifocal glasses, the Franklin Stove, the lightning rod, up through Eli Whitney and the cotton gin, Samuel Colt and the revolving pistol, Morse and the Morse Code and the telegraph, all the way up to the present. Americans have been proud of the idea that we are the most pragmatic, the most technology-oriented, the most futuristic of all people; and yet today the bureaucracy of the welfare state is slowly and steadily grinding down our ability to be technologically advanced and the cultural attitudes of the left and the counter-culture are so antitechnology that they are slowing down the development of new medicine, the development of new learning systems, the development of new ways of getting things done.

It is very important to understand in terms of cost, that the only two places

in American life where the cost of technology goes up are the Defense Department and those aspects of health dominated by government. Microwave ovens, the cost goes down. Color televisions, the cost goes down. Cellular telephones, the cost goes down; but if you are a government bureaucracy, like the Pentagon or the Health Care Finance Administration and in charge of cellular telephones and microwave ovens, the cost would go up.

So first of all, keeping technology moving, inventing a better future, creating better ways of doing things, is at the heart of being American.

Imagine, if you will, just to show you how sad the situation has become and how bad this decay is, imagine that Thomas Edison invented the electric light today in the welfare state. It would be reported by major news networks, a report which would begin, "The candle-making industry was threatened today."

At least three liberal Senators would jump up and introduce a bill to protect the candle union. Ralph Nader would hold a press conference to announce that electricity can kill and the entire development of electric lights as applied by General Electric would be blocked.

If you think I exaggerate, look at the newspapers and see how many examples you can find.

Or consider a different approach, the problem of regulation in an antitechnology bias. If the Wright brothers showed up today, can you imagine the Wright brothers at the Environmental Protection Agency. They had invented a brand new machine which went through the air and had a propeller that chopped through the air. The EPA bureaucrats, of course, would immediately say, "And how many insects do you kill? And when you kill those insects, how many of them are endangered? You want go down to Kitty Hawk and irresponsibly fly this thing without even having done a census of insects."

So the Wright brothers leave the EPA with a folder full of forms to fill out in triplicate, walking down the hall suddenly encounter the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Can you imagine Orville and Wilbur walking in, saying to the OSHA inspector, "We're bicycle mechanics. We have invented this thing. We're pretty sure it goes up and we think it will come down. We're not sure about that yet, never tried it before. We are not exactly sure what the safety conditions are, but Wilbur said he would get it in and we will go down and see what happens."

By the time OSHA got done with all the different safety equipment they would want to put on the original Kitty Hawk flier, which you can see by the way right down here in the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum. Go down and imagine that plane, chin, trail, light, experimental, after OSHA got done with the seatbelts and the

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time because by the time they came back around again, people had forgotten that they had been there 4 years earlier.

Imagine that we had a meeting of vaudeville actors in 1930 and we said to them that there were three events in 1993: the Great Train Robbery which was made as a film, and the first feature was a film with a plot 4 minutes long and that still shows down in Disneyland. Henry Ford produced the first assembly line automobile, and the Wright brothers flew at Kitty Hawk. Now, imagine that we tried to explain to these vaudeville actors that everything they had been doing live in front of people would be replaced by a screen with a flickering black and white image, with no voice, and people would read the subtitles, and they would actually prefer to go to that silent movie rather than see a live vaudeville show next door, and that that film would be actually something which had happened 3 or 4 months earlier in New York or in Los Angeles and had been edited and put together so it did not even occur the way it looked on the film, that they had just shot different scenes and some other person put them together, and that some people like Charlie Chaplin were going to get richer on screen than they ever could have gotten in vaudeville.

And imagine that we tried to say to them:

Wait until 30 or 40 years later follows. The movie is going to become color, and it is going to have voice and music, and you are going to be able to watch it sitting in an airplane, and that airplane is going to be bigger and longer than the entire flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903.

You would say that literally a Boeing 747 is longer than the entire initial flight by the Wright brothers, and that 450 Americans are going to sit in this airplane and eat food which is prepared in a microwave. I would not even want to try to explain what a microwave was. And we would say they are going to fly from Atlanta to New York or from Atlanta to London, and it is going to be so common that they are not even going to say it is a miracle, they are just going to get off, and their only comment is going to be that the food was not that good and they had already seen the movie.

Now, how could you consciously get those vaudevillians to understand the scale of change that was about to overwhelm them? I do not know, but I believe that is where we Americans are—the computer, fiberoptics, biotechnology satellites, worldwide transmission.

If you read President Clinton's inaugural address, everything he said about change and technology and the world market and information was exactly right. It was not particularly new, except for the part about politicians, and it took great courage on his part, I think, to say it, and it will take even greater courage to live it out and to follow it.

But if you read Alvin Toffler's "Future Shock" or his later book, "The Third Wave," Kenneth Boulding's "The Meaning of the 20th Century," Peter Drucker's "The Age of Discontinuity," or Nelsie's "Megatrends," all these books tell you the same things over and over again. We are at a turning point where all changes are going to be so amazing that we who are in public life—and all citizens should be in public life, every American has an obligation to care about their country—will have to try to develop the answers that allow us to renew the American civilization in the middle of that scale of change.

I do not have the answers. I would say to any of my colleagues or anyone else who sees this or who reads it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that if you would like to send me success stories applying the five principles of quality technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, the principles of American civilization, and psychological strengths, I would love to get those success stories. If you have horror stories that illustrate why we need to renew American civilization, send them to me because they are often useful in illustrating why we must change. If you can develop some good ideas that are attempts to apply these principles to renewing American civilization, send me your ideas.

We have to create a movement to renew American civilization. We have to do it at every level. We have to have a vision of American renewed civilization. We have to have specific projects that are the building blocks of renewal, and we have to work every day tactically at renewal.

Let me just close with this thought: Every night on television we are reminded of what is at stake for ourselves and our children. We cannot rear our children and grandchildren in a world in which they can be shot going to school. We cannot give them a world in which their chances of becoming pregnant, of dying of AIDS, of being trapped in poverty, of going to a school that fails, of not being able to compete, become overwhelming. We cannot leave our children a country that is decaying economically, decaying educationally, decaying on health care, decaying in welfare, and decaying in its great cities.

And more is at stake than just America or just our children. In the last 20 years we have been the last best hope of mankind. We have gone from a tiny strip of 13 colonies on the eastern part of the North American Continent to the most powerful universal civilization in the history of the human race. All across the planet people want to be more like Americans. All across the planet people want human rights, without regard to sex, without regard to race, and without regard to religion, which is at the essence of being American. All across the planet people want the right to free elections, to free speech, to productivity and prosperity.

which is the essence of being American. If we fail, we are being warned every night by Bosnia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, and a host of other countries that the fabric of civilization which we have slowly helped sew will come apart and that the 21st century will be a century of horror and brutality unimaginable to most of us.

I believe that every American citizen has to confront the fact that it is not just their political leaders, it is not just their educational leaders, and it is not just their business leaders, but that every American has an obligation, and that obligation is to be committed to a renewal of American civilization, and that, as I said earlier, in Franklin Roosevelt's words, our generation has a rendezvous with destiny and we have to keep that rendezvous.

THURGOOD MARSHALL, DIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOPETSKI). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. CONYERS, is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Thurgood Marshall, retired member of the Supreme Court, passed away. It is my intention to announce that there will be special orders in the body commemorating his life and works. In addition, I am pleased to announce that the Congressional Black Caucus is planning a memorial tribute to him, for which details are forthcoming.

Thurgood Marshall was the first black African-American member of the U.S. Supreme Court. He was a historic figure who will always be remembered as an incredibly accomplished individual with varied interests. He was widely recognized as the most effective member of the Supreme Court in this century.

As the great-grandson of a slave and born in Baltimore from working class parents, Marshall understood the importance of hard work. It was the source of inspiration that positively influenced all his future decisions and achievements. Even after his appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court, Marshall still maintained these beliefs. Though he worked with some of the most prestigious individuals of our time, he never forgot the plight of the impoverished, the struggling, and the suffering.

It is appropriate that we remember Marshall not only as the effective Supreme Court Justice I have just described, but also as an advocate of school desegregation. It was Marshall who, as counsel for the NAACP legal fund in 1954, took his life in his hands to argue that everyone, regardless of race, creed, or color deserved to be educated. He also led the charge to eliminate white-only primary elections and explicit discrimination in housing contracts. As a civil rights attorney and Justice of the Supreme Court, Marshall became the principal architect of a strategy of using the courts to provide the equality that African-Americans were not otherwise afforded.

Marshall is a uniquely special individual who deserves to be honored by this body and who will continue to serve as a reminder of everything that we must all strive to become.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following articles for the RECORD:

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extra things, and the this's and the that's and the structural reinforcements, the sucker would never have gotten off the ground and we would have no problem of airplane crashes today, because we would not have any airplanes.

If you think I exaggerate, talk to anybody in the pharmaceutical industry who is trying to get a new drug to come to market to help people with terminal diseases. You cannot get the drug to be experimented with because the people who are dying might be sick. So literally what happens is the bureaucracy says that we cannot allow mature adults to try this out because, after all, it might worsen them. And you say to them, "Well, these people are going to die in the next two months."

"It does not matter. We cannot allow you to take this risk, even if they want to take the risk."

Or go talk to people who make the most minor modification and are then forced to get back in line at the bureaucracy and wait for 1 year, 2 years or 3 years to get some bureaucrat to approve the paperwork in order to put something on the market which, in fact, is clearly, by any commonsense standard, already demonstrably safe.

I would just suggest to you that between the culture of the left and the welfare state bureaucracy, we have become a much more antitechnology society than it should be, and it is a tragedy because technology could revolutionize health care and radically lower the cost of taking care of yourself and give you a great deal more diagnostic information without having to go to the doctor.

Technology could explode the capacity of humans to educate themselves and to learn without having to show up at school during certain hours. So we should be very technologically oriented and we should reestablish technological advance as a key part of our future.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is of the essence not just of being productive, the essence of not just being prosperous, but it is the most powerful method for getting government to work.

□ 1410

When government in the 19th century wanted to build railroads, they encouraged private enterprise to do it. When government in the 1950's wanted to have jet aircraft for transportation uses, it was private companies who did it. You can make a very powerful argument that if the shuttle were being built by a private company rather than by NASA, it would be cheaper, faster, less expensive to maintain, and come in ahead of schedule and under budget. Instead, the longer we bureaucratize the space program, the more we make it a socialist space program, the more expensive it gets, the more bureaucratic it gets, the slower it gets, and the less efficient it gets.

Now entrepreneurial free enterprise is important in a number of levels. First of all, it is the most powerful way for minorities to rise and become wealthy. We can see this with Asian-Americans who have the most entrepreneurial orientation of all the ethnic groups currently coming to the United States. We also see this with the West Indian blacks who have a higher average income in the United States than do whites. Any group which starts out trying to set up small businesses, working very hard, saving, developing a better future, in, in fact, going to rise in America. In America, if you will get a job, keep a job, work, if necessary, at a second job and live 10 percent below your take-home pay, even if you are very poor, it is amazing how rapidly you can accumulate.

Mr. Speaker, that is not just a homily. That is true for Laotians, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Indians, and Pakistanis. Virtually every group which comes to America with a strong work ethic and a strong extended family rises very rapidly.

As I said earlier, it is true for West Indian blacks. It is true for most Hispanics. It is only when the welfare state starts to break down the work ethic, starts to break down the savings ethic, starts to break down the willingness to go out on your own and set up a business, starts to break down the family—only when the welfare state takes over an ethnic group and breaks down those habits do we in fact see them trapped in poverty.

When you look at entrepreneurial free enterprise, there is another way to look at it. McDonald's has the most powerful job training system in the world. More young people get more entry level training in McDonald's than anywhere else. Yet the tragedy of the welfare state is that our attitude is to raise the taxes on McDonald's to transfer the money to a bureaucracy to pay for the Job Corps even though in recent studies it has been proven that you will have a lower lifetime earning level if you go to the Job Corps than if you avoid it.

My point is this:

We should be encouraging job training through the businesses that are productive and entrepreneurial. We should be encouraging the maximum number of small businesses. We should be encouraging every minority group and every woman to go out and start a business because the best way to break the glass ceiling is to own the glass. We should be rethinking government, rethinking health care, rethinking learning, rethinking all the different aspects of bureaucracy, applying entrepreneurial free enterprise before we talk about a single penny in tax increases.

Mr. Speaker, until we have reformed the New York City bureaucracy, the worst single bureaucracy in the country in work rules, until we have reformed the Federal bureaucracy in Washington, until we have really taken

apart and rethought what we are doing in terms of the system we currently have, we should not raise a penny in taxes on working Americans because government has not yet sacrificed by developing new ideas and new approaches.

Fourth, after equality, technology, technological advance, and entrepreneurial free enterprise are the principles of American civilization. We simply have to be committed to teaching people the work ethic. It was fascinating to me and one of the things that allowed me to feel comfortable giving this talk to realize that when the Atlanta Constitution in January 1992 asked in 10 States—they asked southern blacks the following question: "Do you believe that everyone should be required to work who gets welfare, including women with young children?" Eighty-one percent of southern blacks said yes, everyone should be required to work if they get welfare. Interestingly that was actually two points higher than southern whites. Seventy-nine percent of southern whites said yes.

Mr. Speaker, there is a basic core belief still in a strong family, in male responsibility for their children, in the work ethic, in the importance of saving, and yet our Tax Code, our welfare code and, all too often, our school systems fail to reinforce and fail to strengthen precisely these behaviors. We should replace welfare with work. We should have a school system which rewards learning. We should have a system which is aimed at health care, at rewarding wellness. We should change the Tax Code to encourage savings rather than to punish people who save by raising their taxes. On every front we should reestablish the principles of American civilization so that it replaces the welfare state with an opportunity society and so the law reinforces the right values.

Last and fifth, Mr. Speaker, after quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and the principles of American civilization, we need to emphasize psychological strength. Five simple words: Courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, and integrity. I want to repeat those: Courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, and integrity.

Let me say bluntly, Mr. Speaker, if you do not have psychological strength in a free society, you are not going to get there. You will not be able to hold a family together, you will not be able to learn a trade, you will not be able to open a small business, you will not be able to rise economically, and you will not be able to do the hard work of freedom that is the essence of citizenship.

For two generations we have failed to be honest with the poor about the fact that you need more courage, more hard work, more perseverance, more discipline, and more integrity if you are poor. The rich can afford to buy substitutes, but in a free society every cit-

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January 25, 1993

ism has to have psychological strength.

I was first turned on to this by Gary Willis in his book, "Inventing America," which is a study of the Declaration of Independence. Willis describes George Washington, a passage that I will bring over in the near future, and I will read it into the RECORD, and he says:

Nobody in the modern age can appreciate the importance of George Washington because it wasn't that he was brilliant in I.Q. it wasn't that he was a charismatic leader in speaking. It was that his personal integrity, his personal character, his personal commitment were so powerful that people felt they could lean on him, and he could truly be the Father of the Nation, and he could truly be the general in charge of the Revolutionary Army.

And Willis goes on to say:

No modern historian can truly explain George Washington because they can't explain these psychological strengths. They don't fit the way modern liberal culture talks about the world.

And so I want to suggest to my colleagues that every young person needs to study George Washington, and they need to study people who rose in one generation, whether it is Andrew Carnegie or Henry Ford. They need to understand people that are successful at invention such as Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers. They need to learn over and over again the importance of psychological strength and the very fabric of life, and I would say to my colleagues, whether it is the problem of males having to be responsible for their children, the problem of getting people to start small businesses when they are poor, the problem of stopping the AIDS epidemic, which is largely, frankly, an avoidable disease based on behavior, and the problem of stopping teenage pregnancy, which is as avoidable as other behaviors and in many societies has been avoided; all of these have to come back in the end to psychological strengths and teaching people that they have to find within themselves the courage, and hard work, the perseverance, the discipline, and the integrity.

Now I think as we focus on renewing American civilization, we have to remember President Reagan's great lesson, that you cannot do too many things at once. We have to focus on a couple of big projects at a time. I want to suggest for every American three areas to focus on in the next couple of years until we solve it.

First, economic growth; second, health; and third, saving the inner city.

First, economic growth is vital because in a free society you need to keep growing to bring everybody into prosperity to avoid the kind of bitterness and hatred we see in Bosnia, and in Serbia and in Croatia. We need an economy that is growing so everybody can have a better future. We need an economy that is growing so there is more wealth to sustain and help government institutions. We need an econ-

omy that is growing so we can lead the planet and so that we can have the strength to provide power, assistance overseas.

Now, as subsets of economic growth we have to worry about the deficit, we have to worry about incentives for saving, and investment and job creation. We have to worry about creating a culture, an educational system and changing the bureaucracy so that it is proeconomic growth. But I think the topic and the goal ought to be growth, and that ought to be our first goal.

Second, Mr. Speaker, we need to focus on health. Notice that I did not say health care. Health care is subordinate to health. If we have good enough prenatal care, we are going to have healthier babies who need less health care. If we have good enough emphasis on wellness, we are going to have fewer heart attacks and need less health care. We need to look at the totality of having a healthy America. That means more preventive care, more emphasis on wellness. It means entrepreneurial health care rather than bureaucratic health care. It means returning power to the citizen in health care, making such that the citizen, as patient, is able to choose who their doctor is, what kind of services they want, and that the citizen has information. I will spend a good bit of time in the near future talking about the mediaeval account concept that JOHN KASICK, and RICK SAMORUK, and Pat Rooney have developed, the concept of a medical savings account, and I will talk about ways in which we can change behavior, lower the cost of health care; not just cap it, lower it. We can have better health with better health care at lower costs with greater customer satisfaction if we are prepared to look at entrepreneurial health care and replace the bureaucratic health care system if we are prepared to talk honestly about the requirements of prevention and wellness and if we are prepared to go to some system like medical savings accounts or mediaeval accounts to give people an incentive to change their behavior.

□ 1420

I will spend a good bit of time in the near future talking about health.

Third, we must save the inner cities. Conservatives and Republicans must have the courage and the responsibility for all Americans, no matter what their background, no matter where they live, no matter what their circumstances. At the same time, liberals and Democrats must care enough about the inner city to put aside ideology and interest groups and come to the table and talk openly about how together we can save the inner city. I believe if we apply the five pillars I have described, if we apply quality as defined by Deming, if we apply technological advance, if we apply entrepreneurial free enterprise, if we apply the principles of American civilization, and if we apply psychological strength, I believe it is

possible to save the American city. And I would say that there is no greater or moral challenge to this Congress and this city than to take passionately, deeply, and intensely the challenge of saving the American city.

The human face of pain, the loss of life, the tragedies near this Capitol are heartbreaking. More Americans have died in DC than have died in Somalia since the Marines and the Army landed there. Think about that. That is the objective factual reality, and I will report on it in a special order later on this spring. More Americans have died here in the National Capital than have died in Somalia. Does that not shock you, alarm you, sicken you?

We read about 5- and 6-year-olds killed by stray bullets. We read about a principal in New York who was out walking the neighborhood looking for a truant he wanted to save and get back to school, and he is killed by a stray bullet. We had a teacher in the Atlanta area just a week ago, raped and brutalized because she went to school at 7 in the morning and the guard does not come until 8. She was assaulted in the school. At what point are we going to say, "Enough?"

We have children here within 2 miles or within 1 mile of this building who are not getting educated, but who are trapped in classes that do not work. We have families that do not have adequate food. We have 14- and 15-year-old males who have 1, 2, and 3 children, none of whom they are responsible for. We have a civilization which is decaying and on the verge of breaking down. Every American has an obligation, I believe, to come to the table and talk about how we reestablish American civilization so that every child of God who is an American can be changed for the better. I do not care if they are black, white, yellow, red, or brown, I do not care if they are male or female, I do not care what their circumstance was yesterday; I care about the fact that we can change them today so their circumstances tomorrow can be better.

I think there is no more heart-rending requirement than that we focus on saving the inner city. We cannot renew America until we reclaim, rebuild, and renew the inner city.

All this is a huge challenge. I have talked about renewing American civilization. I have described the five pillars of that civilization. I have suggested three areas that we have to focus on. It is a huge challenge.

Let me say this: I say this after 2½ months of thinking about where we have to go, and I do not have the answers. I have ideas, I have insights, and I see possibilities. I feel a lot like a futurist in 1903 who met with a bunch of vaudeville actors. Remember, vaudeville actors earned their living on a live stage with a band and with people out front, very often in a saloon. They went around the country on a circuit by bicycle. They could get one good act and they could keep that act for a life-

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EXHIBIT 46

D-R-A-F-T

"RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION"

Vision Statement
March 19, 1993

In order to renew American civilization we need new language to explain our new vision, to arouse new human and financial resources, to create a new party system so we can defeat the Democratic machine and transform American society into a more productive, responsible, safe country by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

In the absence of a great crisis (the Civil War, the Great Depression) the four best examples of this kind of popular effort to renew America are:

- 1) the Jefferson-Madison-Burn invention of the Democratic Party to replace the Federalists;
- 2) the Jacksonian coalition to replace John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and the National Bank, and;
- 3) the McKinley business-progressive-urban coalition to defeat the threat to modern industrialism.

Any effort smaller than these is doomed to fail. Therefore, we must learn to speak, to recruit, to organize and to arouse on a scale and in a 21st Century system no one has yet dreamed of or developed.

What is at stake is literally our country, our American civilization, and the future of the human race (which is pulled between freedom, Chinese style dictatorship and the chaos of Bosnia and Somalia and Haiti).

Our courage and our commitment must match the scale of the challenge. Only then do we have a chance to succeed.

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Exhibit 46

D-R-A-F-T

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION:
A PROPOSAL FOR CITIZEN ACTIVISM
March 19, 1993

Where we are: by Newt Gingrich
The Current Civilization

American civilization is decaying. Most Americans know that the combination of twelve year old kids dying of AIDS and eighteen year old students, who cannot even read, receiving high school diplomas, threatens the very fabric of our civilization.

Most Americans believe in the core values of American civilization (81% of Southern blacks favor work requirements, for all welfare recipients, including women with young children, 75% of all Americans favor a balanced budget, by 75 to 14 Americans believe hard work is more important than luck in succeeding).

There is a 70% to 80% majority for the principles we believe in (reduced to about 60% in the 1972 and 1984 Presidential elections by the Republican failure to reach out to minorities who share our values).

The political system is rigged by the Democratic machine so a center-right national majority among the American people is distorted into a solid Democratic majority in the Congress. The combination of incumbent advantages, big city machines, special advantages for labor unions, Democratic domination of the Washington lobbying, PAC communities and a remarkable network of leftwing activist groups (such as dominated the Bork and Clarence Thomas nomination fights) have made it impossible to shake liberal domination of the Congress (in the House the Democrats have controlled since 1954). This forty year monopoly of power by one party is the largest in American history.

Now the Democrats have added control of the White House to their control of the House and Senate.

While Clinton is very good at disguising his very liberal goals with centrist language, the objective facts of his personnel appointments and the details of his Executive Orders and legislative proposals make clear the fact that this is the most leftwing Administration in American history.

The big surprise about the Democrats is that anyone is surprised. Assume the same Democratic control of the Senate (six years) and House (forty years) that enraged the American people, led to the term limitation movement, and reinforced the Ross Perot

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phenomenon. Add to that Democratic machine the first McGovern field staff to win the Presidency. Throw in a combination of Carterites on foreign and defense policy, of Washington Democratic lobbyists and staffs, of pro-centralized government academics (our equivalent of modern British Labor and European Socialists), of economic redistributionists (tax the rich, tax virtually everyone and give it to the planners and bureaucrats), of counter culture and gay rights activists, and of Democratic big city mayors with a generous helping of lawyers and you have the Clinton Administration.

The Democratic machine will be pro-spending, pro-pork, pro-tax increase, anti-defense, erratic on foreign policy, pro-litigation, pro-regulation, in favor of government enforced social experiments, and in favor of government domination of the private sector and the family, in favor of income redistribution by government fiat based on class, race, and geographic (and occasionally just on political whim) and amazingly unethical as a routine.

The Democratic machine will be anti-business, anti-success, anti-religion, anti-traditional values, anti-white male, anti-family, anti-rural, anti-suburb, and anti-military.

These two paragraphs explain over 90% of the first two months of the Democratic machines monopoly of power in Washington.

Those of us who believe in the work ethic, the free enterprize system, the desirability of success, the importance of American civilization and the necessity of strength in a dangerous world are now faced with a challenge of historic proportions.

We know American civilization was decaying before the Democrats took the White House. We now know after two months of the Democratic machine that they will accelerate the decay and make it worse.

We have three choices:

One, decide the challenge is too great, withdraw from the fight, and hope the decay does not effect our personal lives and our families too badly or too quickly.

Two, continue to fight within the political framework that has defined American politics and government since 1968. Accept the structure of a minority Republican Party opposing the policies of a dominant Democratic Party. In this system we at least oppose the worst proposals and slow down the rate of decay. While American civilization will lose in the end at least we will have done our duty.

Three, recognize that the entire future of American civilization and the American people is at stake (and depending on America's economic and cultural strength is

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literally the future of the human race). If we renew American civilization we will almost certainly lead the human race to freedom, safety and prosperity. If American civilization continues to decay there is no country powerful enough and ethnically diverse enough to lead the world. With a decaying America the future will almost certainly be a host of Bosnias, Somalias and Haitis, and at home our violence levels will continue to grow and our economic and societal distress will increase.

The human stakes are immense and the resources required to renew American civilization will dwarf anything we have seen.

The Democratic machine is entrenched. It has rigged the rules of the game to keep itself in power. It routinely lies, is regularly unethical and on occasion simply breaks the law.

Franklin Roosevelt left the Democratic machine three great assets:

First, it has a vision and language which are coherent, widely understood and give it great advantage in political debate (e.g. fairness, tax the rich, help the victims, compassion, the bureaucracy as national nanny).

Second, it has a structure of raising and focusing resources which helps it dominate the news media, the legislative process and elections (total resources on the left dwarf the Republican coalition).

Third, it has a tradition of apprenticeship and a doctrine of self government which make its elected officials vastly more effective at acquiring and using power than their Republican counterparts.

Any successful citizen's revolt will have to overcome those three legacies to defeat the Democratic machine, replace the welfare state with an opportunity society, and renew American civilization.

Any program which is not comprehensive enough, large enough, and mentally tough enough to achieve that scale of replacement will simply fail and America will fail with it.

WHERE WE MUST GO: A VISION OF A RENEWED AMERICA

We must communicate a vision of renewing American civilization and a language of renewal. We must convince citizens that renewal is necessary (most already believe that) and doable (most have no

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Exhibit 4b

idea of how). We must reestablish freedom and progress as our goals.

We must give citizens the tools to rethink and reshape their governments from local and state to federal. The government and law should strengthen and reinforce habits of productivity, responsibility and safety so Americans can be prosperous and safe so they can pursue happiness.

Enough Americans must come to share the need for renewal that they can create an echo effect on talk radio, in letters to the editor, and in local meetings, speeches, and campaigns.

The general vision of renewal must be developed into specific legislative proposals, specific actions, and specific activist groups so people can see in practical every day terms how their lives will be better.

The contrast must be made clear between the decay, corruption, inefficiency and arrogance of the Democratic machine's bureaucracies (e.g. New York City, OSHA, EPA) and the extraordinary opportunities for citizen satisfaction made possible by the five pillars (personal strength, Deming's profound knowledge of quality, technological progress, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and the principles of American civilization).

We can offer better health, better learning, safer lives, more jobs with better take home pay, and a higher quality of life with greater individual choices at less governmental cost with a lot less bureaucratic hassle and red tape and dramatically less waste in government.

Our job is to bring alive these possibilities in terms people can understand, believe and apply to their own lives. It is the equivalent of making the transition from a lecture on nutrition to an ad for "Egg McMuffins".

We must also recognize that all across America millions of people are already working to renew American civilization. In my Georgia district 23% of the citizens have had some contact with ideas on quality in their work place. There are millions of computer users who know how obsolete the government is. There are more small business owners than union members in California.

A major part of our challenge is to identify, encourage, reinforce, arouse and network together the millions who already believe in and are working to improve their lives and their communities. As we recognize each other and learn how big a majority we are our courage will grow and our determination will increase.

While we are developing and communicating our positive vision of renewing American civilization and arousing and strengthening

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the positive efforts of our citizens we must also stop the decay and destruction brought about from the Democratic machine.

Our energies should be 75% long range and positive, and only 25% short range and opposed to the decaying Democratic machine. This will take real discipline and constant reminders. The Democratic machine is going to be so unethical (sometimes illegal), so patently dishonest in its communications, so wrong in its policies, destructive in its proposals and outrageous in its actions that we will be tempted to consume all our time and energy in opposition. Fights against the Democratic machine generate vastly more attention and are much easier to cover than creating a positive new vision and movement (by about a nine to one ratio). It takes tremendous effort to balance the inevitably confrontational and negative courage of trying to expose and stop the destructive efforts of the machine with the positive efforts to renew American civilization.

On the side of stopping the Democratic machine the following principles should be applied:

- 1) Encourage everyone who has a disagreement with the Democratic program to join a grand coalition. At the optimum the anti-gays in the military anger, anti-tax increase anger and the anti-government waste anger should all be drawn into a broad front of opposition to the Democratic machine. While this will never be perfect and many will focus only on their grievance, the general principles of building the broadest possible understanding and alliance is correct;

- 2) Appeal to the American people over and over. Highlight again and again the gap between the Democrats words (reasonable) and their deeds (outrageous). Hold the maximum number of town hall meetings. Get every detail to talk shows, micromedia and every group that will use it. Defeat the big lie with equally big truth. For example:

- a. Join with the Ross Perot volunteers in town hall meetings on the tax increases in April and May.

- b. Insist that every Congressional committee and subcommittee hold hearings around the country on the Clinton health plan and open scrutiny of a secret plan.

- c. Every time the Democrats cheat on ethics, the law or simply act secretly and in defiance of the public anger against Washington we must highlight it and protest it. We are the guardians of the public's right to know.

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3) Create specific projects on issues large enough to rally the nation. By picking our fights on the most favorable terms we can maximize popular support, make the Democrats' defense the least believable, and increase public pressure on the swing Democrats to stick with the American people against the machine.

For example "Cut Spending First" is the right strategy to fight the Democratic tax increases. By 76 to 9 (The Washington Post poll, March 1993) the American people want more spending cuts. Perot has been emphasizing \$2 in spending cuts for every \$1 in tax increases. Only 21% of the American people trust Washington to do the right thing (The Washington Post poll, March 1993). The lowest number in the 35 year history of the poll, lower than Watergate or Carter. The most powerful 1992 campaign statement was "government is too big and it spends too much". Virtually every American knows that Congress has consistently cheated on its promise to cut spending but has kept its word on raising taxes.

We need a "Cut Spending First" national movement:

1) The coalition should include everyone opposed to tax increases, everyone opposed to waste in government, every conservative who wants smaller government and every citizen who wants the deficit cut and will pay more taxes but only if the spending is cut.

2) Virtually every radio talk show host will support the "Cut Spending First" theme.

3) Every business association can be forced by its members to join (even the US Chamber and the National Association of Manufacturers would probably have to join).

4) The House and Senate Republicans could introduce resolutions, rule changes and procedural motions to insure that permanent real spending cuts of at least \$2 for every \$1 in proposed tax increase was signed into law before the tax increase came to the floor of either the House or the Senate. This would require the President to sign into law billions in spending cuts before even bringing up his tax bill. The Republicans on the two Budget Committees would certify the cuts before the tax bill came to the floor.

5) Petition drives would be launched in every Democratic Congressional district and in every state with a Democratic Senator asking them to sign on to the "Cut Spending First" resolution and to pledge not to vote for any taxes before the spending was signed into law.

6) Republicans in the House and Senate would have a daily "Cut Spending First" dialogue in which they re-

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explained the strategy, reminded citizens of the history of Congress breaking its word on taxes and spending, cite specific examples of pork barrel and waste that should be cut before a penny is taken from the American family budget and listeners would be urged to join the petition drive and check with their Senator and Congressman to make sure they had pledged to "Cut Spending First".

7) Republicans would turn each appropriations bill and the reconciliation bill into an assault on the deceptiveness and dishonesty of the Democratic machine. The House Democratic Budget has \$246 billion in tax increases and a phoney \$264 billion in spending cuts. However, \$36 billion was already cut in the 1990 budget deal for which earlier tax increases have already paid. Another \$68 billion is in unspecified domestic spending cuts. Yet another \$113 billion is in unspecified defense spending cuts. Thus only \$47 billion in the House Democratic Budget is in actual specified spending cuts. To meet the Perot \$2 in spending cuts for \$1 in tax increases the Democratic machine has to either reduce its tax increase to \$23 billion total or find \$445 billion in additional real spending cuts.

8) The Democratic machine should be challenged over and over to be honest about its spending cuts. Even at only \$113 billion in additional unspecified defense cuts and \$63 billion in additional unspecified domestic cuts that is a huge potential threat to an amazing number of communities and constituencies. Every hearing, every Presidential speech, every town hall meeting should include demands to tell the truth about the secret spending cuts.

9) The world is once again dangerous enough to begin arguing for a strong national defense. The combination of an anti-military President, gays in the military, drastic defense cuts, and crises around the world are all beginning to rearouse public support for a strong defense. Serious studies, articles, speeches, and forums that link Iraq, Bosnia, Somoalia, Haiti, North Korea, Russia, and Middle Eastern fanatics and terrorists, into a pattern of dangers will rapidly win the intellectual debate with the Carterites who dominate the Democratic national security posts. This will shrink the defense cuts (Panetta is already quietly promising Democrats they will be well below \$113 billion) and will put pressure on for more domestic cuts and make even more clear the Democrats failure to achieve a \$2 for \$1 spending cut to tax increase ratio.

10) The success of John Kasich and the House Republican Budget Committee members in developing a serious, no tax increase, real specified spending cut budget needs to be

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highlighted and emphasized. Both The New York Times and The Washington Post editorialized that the Kasich Budget was intellectually superior and more honest than the Democratic Budget. The House Republican Budget proves you can cut the deficit by cutting spending without a tax increase. This message needs to get to every Perot voter and editorial writer.

11) Really intense anti-tax groups should be encouraged to aggressively buy advertising and fight for the "Cut Spending First" strategy.

12) April 15th should become a national "Cut Spending First" rally day.

13) If the Democratic machine ignores all these efforts there should be organized picketing at their district, state offices and in Washington during the actual mark up of the legislation. If Italians can invent a Lombard League, the Russians, Rumanians and others can take back their countries then it should be possible for enraged, honest, hard working, tax paying Americans to fight against the political machine that is lying to them and taking their money.

14) As momentum builds, the Washington lobbyists who are trying to cozy up with the Democratic Administration (like seeking a place at the table with cannibals) should be embarrassed with their constituents until they join the "Cut Spending First" coalition (the AARP and US Chamber are the first two key problems).

These fourteen ideas are simply project examples of how a "Cut Spending First" strategy might reach out to the American people, arouse their sovereign power and put maximum pressure on the Democratic machine.

To renew American civilization we will have to have many strategies and innumerable projects.

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11)

New Core Page

"Renewing American Civilization"

Vision Statement

March 19, 1993

In order to renew American civilization we need new language to explain our new vision to attract new ~~best~~ human and financial resources to create a new party system so we can defeat the Democratic Machine and transform American society into a more productive responsible safe country by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

In the absence of a great crisis (like Civil War, Regret Depression) the 4 best examples of this kind of popular effort to renew America are:

1. the Jefferson-Madison-Burr invention of the Democratic Party to replace the Federalists;
2. the Jacksonian alliance coalition to replace John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and the National Bank, and Jackson;
3. the business-progressive-urban coalition to defeat the threat to modernity industrialism.

Any effort smaller than these is doomed to fail.

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New cover page continued

Therefore we must learn to speak, to recruit, to organize and to commit on a scale and in a 21st century system no one has yet dreamed of or developed.

What is at stake is literally our country, our ~~country~~ American civilization, and the future of the human race (which is poised between Freedom, Chinese style dictatorship and the chaos of Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti).

Our courage and our commitment must match the scale of the challenge. Only then do we have a chance to succeed.

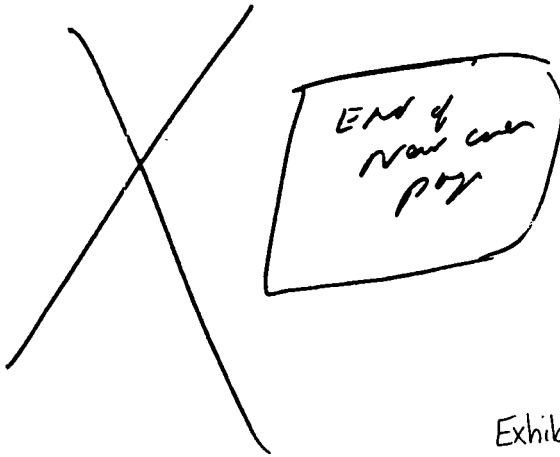


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3]

hold hearings around the country on the Clinton health plan. Over and over scrutiny of a secret plan

C. Every Time the Democrats Clout on Ethics, (~~House~~ ~~Senate~~), ~~Little Rock White House~~ the law, or simply not seriously and in violation of the ~~public~~ ~~and~~ defiance of the public anger against Washington we must highlight it and protest it - we as the guardians of the public's right to know;

3. Create specific projects on issues large ~~too~~ enough to rally the nation. By picking our fights on the ~~most~~ ~~most~~ favorable terms we can maximize popular support, make the Democrats' defenses the least believable, and ~~thereby~~ increase public pressure on the swing Democrats to stick with the American people against the machine.

For example "Cut Spending First" is the right strategy to ~~the~~ Fight the Democratic tax increases. By 76 to 9 (watching the ASST put stand 1993)
MCP

WGC 00184

Exhibit 46

14)

do American people want more spending
 cuts - Perot has been emphasizing
 \$2 in spending ^{cuts} ~~cuts~~ for every dollar in
 tax increases. Only 21 per cent of the
 American people think Washington is doing
 right during (same poll, the lowest number
 in the 35 year history of the poll, lower than
 Watergate Center). ~~Virtually every American~~
 the first part of 1992 campaign statement
 was "Government is too big and it
 spends too much." ~~Therefore stated~~
 Virtually every American knows that
 Congress has consistently cheated on
 its promises to cut spending but has
 kept its word on raising taxes.

None

WGC 00195

Exhibit 46

15
We Need a "Cut Spending First" National Movement.

~~1. Every group that opposes taxes~~
should be invited to join

~~2. Every group that opposes wasteful~~
~~spending~~

1. The condition should include everyone opposed to tax increases, everyone opposed to waste in government, and every conservative who wants a smaller government and every citizen who wants the deficit cut and will pay mandates but only if the spending is cut;

2. Virtually every radio talk show host will support the "cut spending First" theme;

3. Every business association can be forced by its members to join (even the Chamber and the National Association of Manufacturers would probably have to join);

4. The House and Senate Republicans could introduce resolutions, rule changes and procedural motions to insure that permanent total spending cuts of at least \$2 for every \$1 in proposed tax increase ~~(that is, a 2:1 ratio)~~ Exhibit 46

was signed into law before the tax increases came to the floor of either the House or the Senate. This would require

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16)

the President to sign into law
billions in spending cuts
before bringing up even bringing up his
tax bill. The Republicans and the
Budget committees would certify the
cuts before the tax bill came to the
floor.

5. Petition drive would be launched
in every Democratic Congressional
District and in every state with a
Democratic Senator asking them to sign
on to the "cut spending first" resolutions
and to pledge not to vote for any
cuts before the spending was signed
into law.

6. Republicans in the House and
Senate would have a daily "cut
spending first" dialogue in which they
re-explained the strategy, reminded
citizens of the history of Congress breaking
its word on taxes and spending and cite
specific examples of pork barrel and
waste that should be cut before a
penny was withdrawn from the
American family budget and listeners
would be urged to join the petition
drive and check with their Senator
and congressman to make sure they
had pledged to "cut spending first"

Exhibit 46

More

WGC 00187

17)

7. Republicans would turn each appropriations bill and the reconciliation bill into an assault on the deep divisions and disharmony of the Democratic Machine on The House Democratic Budget book has \$246 billion in tax increases and a phony \$264 Billion in spending cuts. However \$36 Billion was already cut in the 1990 Budget Deal for which tax increases have already paid. ~~That~~ ^{Earlier} Another \$68 Billion is counted in interest savings but most of the Perot voters believe interest avoidance is the same as a spending cut. Another \$63 Billion is in unspecified domestic spending cuts. ~~The final~~ Yet another \$113 Billion is in unspecified defense spending cuts. Thus only \$47 Billion is ~~more~~ in the House Democratic Budget is in actual specified spending cuts. To meet the Perot \$2 in spending cuts per \$1 in tax increases the Democratic Machine had to either reduce its tax increase to \$22 Billion total or find \$445 Billion ~~more~~ in additional real spending cuts. ~~Every military base, every defense industry and every possible~~

~~Some of the~~

My own

Exhibit 46

WGC 00198

8. The Democratic Party should be challenged over and over to be honest about its spending cuts. Even at only \$113 billion in additional unspecified ~~spend~~ defense cuts and \$13 billion in additional unspecified domestic cuts that is a huge potential threat to an amazing number of communities and constituencies.

Every hearing, every Presidential speech, every town hall meeting should include demands to tell the public about the secret spending cuts.

9. The world is once again dangerous enough to begin arguing for a strong national defense. The combination of an anti-military President, gaps in the military, Obsolete Defense cuts, and crises around the world are all beginning to reawaken public support for a strong defense. Serious studies, articles, speeches and forums that link Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, North Korea, and Russia, Latvia and Middle Eastern Fanaticism and Terrorism, into a picture of dangers will rapidly win the intellectual debate with the Centrist who dominates the Democratic National Security posture. This will shrink the Defense cuts (Panteta is already quietly promising Democrats they will be well below \$113 Billion)

Exhibit 46

19)

and will bring out pressure on for more domestic cuts and make even more clear the Democratic failure to achieve a \$2 Trillion spending cut to date in these cuts.

10. The success of Kasich and the House Republican Budget Committee members in developing a serious, no tax increase, real spending ~~down~~ spending cut budget that needs to be highlighted and emphasized. Both the New York Times and the Washington Post editorialized that the Kasich Budget was intellectually superior and more honest than the Democratic Budget. The House Republican Budget proves you can cut the deficit by cutting spending without a tax increase. This message needs to get to every Post writer and editorial writer.

11. Really intense, intense anti-tax groups should be encouraged to aggressively buy advertising and fight for the "cut spending first" strategy.

12. April 15 should become a national "cut spending first" rally day.

13. If the Democratic machine ignores all these efforts there should be organized picketing at their district and state offices and in Washington during the actual markup of the bill.

[Signature]

WGC 00190

Exhibit 46

20/ Legislation. If Italians can convert a Lombard League, or Japanese can convert against the Liberal Democratic Party, or Russians, Rumanians and others can take back their countries then it should be possible for emigrants, workers, had making, tax paying Americans to fight against the political machine that is lying rotten and sucking their money.

14. As momentum builds for Washington 1966, 1973 who are trying to ~~get~~ place the ~~table~~ copy up into the Democratic administration (like seeking a place at the table with conditions) should be embarrassed with their constituents until they join the "cut spending first" coalition (core AAP and US Chamber and the two first two key problems).

~~But~~ These 14 ideas are simply present examples of how a "cut spending first" strategy might come out to the American people, a voice their sovereign power and put maximum pressure on the Democratic machine.

To Renew American civilization we will have to have many strategies and innumerable projects.

Exhibit 46

MGC 00191

~~Proposed 1993-1997~~

~~EEF~~

Reviewing American Civilization:
A Proposal for citizen activism
March 19, 1993

Where we are: by New Guinea

The Current Situation

American civilization is decaying.
Most Americans know that 12 year olds
having babies, 15 year olds shooting each
other, 17 year olds ~~get~~ dying of AIDS and
18 year olds receiving high school diplomas
they control the future the very fabric of our civilization.

② The combination of

Most Americans believe in the core
values of American civilization (87% of
Southern Blacks have not vaccinated their children
women with young children, for all welfare
recipients) ~~and~~ 75% of all Americans
favor a balanced budget, by 75 to 14 Americans
believe ~~hard work~~ hard work is more important
than luck in succeeding.

There is a 70 to 80% majority
for the principles of American we believe in
Credited to about 60% in the 1972 and 1984
presidential elections by the Republican failure to
reach out to minorities who share our values.

The political system is rigged by
the Democratic Machine so a center-right
national majority becomes among the
American people is distasteful into a
solid Democratic majority in the
Congress. The combination of
incumbent advantages, big city machines,
~~labor union~~ special advantages for labor unions

more

WGC 00172

Exhibit 46

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

2)

Democratic

domination of the Washington lobbying and PAC communities and a remarkable network of leftwing activist groups (such as demonstrated by the Balk and Clarence Thomas nomination fight) have made it impossible to shake liberal domination of the Congress. In the House the Democrats have controlled since 1954. For this

40 year monopoly of power by one party is the longest in American history.

Now the Democrats have added control of the White House to their control of the House and Senate.

While Clinton is very good at disguising his very liberal goals with centrist language, the obvious facts of his personnel appointment and the details of his executive orders and legislative proposals make clear this is the most leftwing administration in American history.

The big surprise about the Democrats is that anyone is surprised. Assume the same Democratic control of the Senate (6 years) and House (40 years) that facilitated the passage of the American people, led to the Team Limitation movement, and even found the Ross Perot phenomenon. Add to that Democratic Machine the first McGovern Field 50th off to win the presidency. Throw in a combination of Carterism on Foreign and Defense Policy, of Washington Democratic lobbyists and staffers, of pre-centralized government academics, of equivalent of modern British Labor and European Socialists, of economic redistribution.

MORE Exhibit 46

2)
 ... the virtually every one and give it to
 the planners and bureaucrats, of counterculture
~~and~~ and social and gay rights activists, and
 of American big city mayors with a
 generous helping of Larry and you
 have the Clinton Administration.

THE Democratic Machine will be pro-
 spending, pro-pork, pro-tax increase, ^{pro liberal} anti-Defense,
 erratic on foreign policy, ~~but~~ pro litigation, pro-
 regulation, in favor of government enforced
 social experiments, and in favor of government
 domination of the private sector and the
 family, and in favor of income redistribution
 by government fiat based on class, race,
 and geographic (and occasionally just on
 political whim) and amazingly, in ethical adventures.

THE Democratic Machine will be
 anti-business, anti-success, anti-religion, anti-tradition,
 anti-white male, anti-family, anti-moral,
 anti-suburb, and anti-military.

~~Any actions which fit this pattern should~~
~~be seen as~~

~~That is how two paragraphs explain~~
 over 90% of the first two months of the
 Great Democratic Machine Monopoly of
 the ~~the~~ power in Washington.

~~Conclusion~~

Those of us who believe in the
 work ethic, the free enterprise
 system, the right to the desirability of
 success, the importance of American
 civilization and the necessity of strength in
 a dangerous world are now faced with

My CRL

WGC 00174

Exhibit 46

a challenge of historic proportions.
We know American civilization
was decaying before the Democrats took
to white turn - we now know after
two months of the Democratic Machine that
they will accelerate the decay and make it
worse.

We have three choices:

One, decide the challenge is too great,
will draw from the right, and hope the
decay does not affect our personal lives and
our families too badly or too quickly.

Two, continue to fight within the political framework that has defined American politics and government since 1789 except the structure of a minority Republican Party ~~opposing~~ opposing the policies of a dominant Democratic Party, and ~~totally within~~ ~~the~~ In this system we at least oppose the worst proposals and slow down the rate of decay. While our American civilization will ~~then~~ lose in the end at least we will have done our duty.

Three, we recognize that the entire future of American civilization and the American people is at stake and depending on America's economic and cultural strength is ~~the~~ literally the future of the human race. If we renew American civilization we will almost certainly lead the human race to freedom, safety and prosperity. If American civilization continues to decay there is no country

Nine

WGC 00175

Exhibit 46

5

powerful enough and ethnically diverse enough
to lead the world with a decaying America
the future will almost certainly be
a host of Bernards, Socialists, and Haitis
and at home our violence levels will
continue to grow and our economic and
social distress will increase -

The human struggle and violence
and the resources required to reverse
American civilization will dwarf
any thing we have seen, ~~any thing we have seen~~

The Democratic machine is untamed.
It has rigged the rules of the game to keep
itself in power. It routinely lies,
is irregularly unethical and on occasion
simply breaks the law.

Franklin Roosevelt left the Democratic
machine three great assets:

First, it has a vision and language
which are coherent, widely understood
and give it great advantage in political
debate (e.g. Fairness, pay the rich, help the victims,
compassion, the government bureaucracy as
National Navy).

Second, it has a structure of
raising and focusing resources which helps
it dominate the news media, the
legislative process and elections (total
resources on the left dwarf the Republican
opposition).

Third, it has a tradition of
oppression and a desire of
total self government which make it

More -

Exhibit 46

MCC 00176

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

6

selected officials vastly more effective in acquiring and using power than their Republican counterparts.

Any successful Citizens' revolution will have to overcome one or three legions to defeat the Democratic Machine, replace the welfare state with an opportunity society, and revere American civilization.

Any program which is not comprehensive enough, large enough, and morally tough enough to achieve that scale of replacement will simply fail and America will fail with it.

WHERE WE MUST GO:

A VISION OF A RENEWED AMERICA

We must communicate a vision of renewing American civilization and a language of renewal. We must convince citizens that renewal is necessary (and most already believe that) and doable (most have no idea of how). We must establish freedom and justice.

1500-1500

We must give citizens the tools to rethink and reshape their governments from local and state to federal. We must strengthen and restore habits of productivity, responsibility and safety so Americans can be prosperous and safe so they can pursue happiness.

Enough Americans must come to share the same road for renewal that they can create an able effort on their own.

7

speeches, in letters to the editor, and in local meetings, speeches, and campaigns. The general vision of renewal must be developed into specific legislative proposals, specific actions, and specific activist groups so people can see in practical day to day terms how their lives will be better.

The contrast between the decay, corruption, inefficiency and amorality of the Democratic machine's bureaucracy (e.g. New York City, OSHA, EPA) and the extraordinary opportunities for citizen satisfaction made possible by the 5 pillars (personal strategy, Benjamin Franklin's profound knowledge of quality, technology, progress, entrepreneurship free enterprise, and the principles of American civilization) -

We can offer better health, better housing, safer lives, more jobs with better take home pay, and a higher quality of life with greater individual choices at less governmental cost with a lot less bureaucratic hassle and red tape and dramatically less waste in government.

Our job is to bring all these possibilities in terms people can understand and believe and apply to their own lives. It is the equivalent of Transitioning from a lecture on nutrition to an ad for EZ9 McHuffs.

Then we must also recognize that all across America millions of people are already working to revitalize America.

None -

Exhibit 46

8/

Civilization - In my State, a district 2370
of the citizens have had some contact with
ideas on Quality within work place. There
are millions of computer users who know how
absolutely the government is. There are more
small business owners than union members
in California.

A major part of our challenge is
to identify, encourage, reinforce, arouse,
and network together the millions who
already believe in and are working to
improve their lives and their
communities. As we recognize each other
and learn how big a majority we are our
convoy will grow and our determination
will increase -

While we are developing and
communicating our positive vision of
renewing American civilization
and arousing and strengthening the
positive efforts of our citizens we must
also block stop the decay and destruction
of the Democratic machine -

Our energies should be 75%
long range and positive and only 25%
short range and opposed to the decaying
Democratic machine. This will take
real discipline and real constant
supervision. The Democratic machine
is going to be so unethical (sometimes illegal),
so patently dishonest in its communications,
so wrong in its policies, destructive
in its proposals and outrageous in its
actions that we will be tempted to
- ignore -

WGC 00179

Exhibit 46

9

consume all our time and energy in
 opposition. ~~From~~ Fighting against the BEM machine
 machine generates vastly more attention and is
 much easier to cover than creating a
 positive new vision and movement (by about a
 9-1 ratio). It takes tremendous effort to
 balance one inevitably confrontational
 and negative campaign of trying to expose
 and stop the bad destructive effects of the
 Machine.

NOT FINISHED
 I'll call

Exhibit 46

WGC 00130

10

[eliminate period after machine on page 9]

with the positive efforts to renew American civilization -

On the side of stopping the Democratic Machine the following principles should be applied:

1. Encourage anyone who has a disagreement with the Democratic program to join a grand coalition. At the optimum the anti-bays in the military, anger and the anti-tax increase anger and the anti-government waste anger should all be drawn into a broad front of opposition to the Democratic machine. While this will never be perfect and many will focus only on their grievance, the general principles of building the broadest possible understanding and alliance is correct;

2. Organize the Appeal to the American people over and over. Highlight again and again the gap between the Democrats words and (reasonable) and their deeds (outrageous). Hold the maximum number of town hall meetings. Get every detail of the shenanigans recorded, and every group that will use it. Repeat the big lie with equally big truth. For example:

a. Join with the Ross Perot volunteers in town hall meetings on the tax increase in April and May.

b. INSIST that every Congressional committee and subcommittee
MURE

WGC 00192

Exhibit 46